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FOREWORD

Dr. Jane Richardson Hanks has been associated with the Cornell Thailand Project as Research Associate in Cultural Anthropology since 1952. Dr. Hanks' field work, with emphasis on family life, was concurrent with a dietary study of families in Bang Chan, and observation on dietary practices of mothers and feeding and growth of infants. She is co-author of Food Habits and Nutrient Intakes in a Siamese Rice Village, in which she contributed her insights as an anthropologist to the observations of her nutritionist co-workers. The facts recorded in a report on the nutritional aspects of maternal and child health, and many observations in the field notes of her co-workers from other disciplines, take on new meaning in the light of Dr. Hanks' study of maternity and its rituals in Bang Chan. References to these and other related reports are included in the bibliography.

In a society where health and well-being are thought to be determined primarily by merit, where illness and early death are accepted as deserved sufferings for sins of an earlier existence, the health worker might be perplexed as to how to implement his teachings. Yet the parallel importance of habit, the concept that the first occurrence sets the pattern for all subsequent occurrences of like nature, opens the way for the introduction of many desirable practices. The need to reconcile new ways with old is emphasized in this study. In her chapter on "Guides for the Introduction of Changes," the author gives practical illustrations which assure realization of her hope that this report will be of interest not only to anthropologists but to all who are concerned with maternal and child health.

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Ithaca, New York
October 1963

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The author wishes to express her gratitude to Dr. Lauriston Sharp, Director of the Thailand Project, and to the other members of the Cornell research group. Her debt is especially great to Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, who set the frame for the study of childbirth, and to Dr. Saovanee Sudsaneh. Their assistance has been unstinting and their notes, turned over in full, have been a rich mine of information. Additional materials came from Dr. Sharp, Dr. L.M. Hanks, Dr. Kamol Janlekha, Dr. Robert Textor, Mr. Loebongs Sarabaya, Mr. Judun Kongsa, Mr. Aram Emarun, and Mr. Singto Metah. Assistance at various points was given by Dr. Charles Archaimbault, Dr. J. Ingersoll, and Dr. Herbert Phillips. Many insights also came from the members of the Wartenstein Conference of the Wenner Gren Foundation in 1959, in particular Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, Dr. Kenneth Wells, and Dr. Siribongs Boonlong. The lifelong research of Phya Anuman Rajadhon permits this regional study to take its place in a larger scene. To all of these institutions and persons thanks are extended.

For the sustained friendliness and courtesy of the people of Bang Chan who made every visit happy and fruitful, the author is particularly grateful.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Henry F. Dobyns for his kindness in seeing this paper through the final phases of production, to Dr. R.B. Jones for certain linguistic corrections, to Mr. Warin Wonghanchao for preparation of the glossary, and to Mrs. Marilyn Cartier for preparing the manuscript for printing. The paper was prepared for reproduction by the staff of the Comparative Studies of Cultural Change of the Department of Anthropology under Contract AID/csd-296 with the U.S. Agency for International Development.

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interest of improved maternal and child health, a few suggestions are made.

Purpose and Method

The purpose of this study is to set down the ethnographic data concerning childbirth in Bang Chan, following out the economic, social, religious, and cosmological aspects as needed to clarify the behavior and the psychological attitudes noted. The hope is that not only anthropologists but persons working in programs of maternal and child health will find the data useful.

The data were gathered from Buddhists and Muslims in Bang Chan by interviews and direct observation. Because Dr. Hazel Hauck, in the course of nutritional studies also made inquiries "from the standpoint of anthropological study rather than because of an assumed relation to nutrition or health" (1959:3) she first opened up the broad outlines of the subject. The author, with Dr. Saovanee as an interpreter of unusual competence, and Dr. Saovanee herself then pursued the subject further, including interviews at the Minburi Health Center and at Cha Choeng Sao.

A few comparative references such as to McFarland's dictionary and Phya Anuman's researches are given, but the focus is always kept on Bang Chan. Though many of the findings will have a certain pertinence in Bangkok, the fact that Kaufman found striking differences in Bang Khuat only 8 kilometers away shows how cautious generalizations must be.

The transliterations of Thai words are only approximations, based on the system promulgated by the Royal Institute of Thailand; the tones have been omitted. With the translation always adjacent and a glossary provided at the end of the volume, the author feels there should be little confusion. Proper names which are generally known in a different transcription are left in their familiar form. In referring to works by Thai authors western custom is followed but in referring directly to the authors themselves Thai custom is followed, as it should be in direct address.

843 farmers brought to the fields an offering of two kinds of
782 bananas (kluai hŏm and kluai namwā), sugar cane, taro,
776 young coconut and cakes; and fresh earth burned and offered with oranges and other kinds of fruit."[27] She was also given the things "dear to women": new clothing, perfume, face-powder, hair lotion and a mirror. In the
843 annual harvest ritual, when some woman (never a man)
776 escorted the Goddess from the field to the rice bin, participation was forbidden to a pregnant woman because
784 "the Goddess-Mother might be jealous of the woman's heightened beauty" and so be malevolent. Also, "being now emotionally weak and easily upset, a woman might be frightened by seeing the Goddess, who, after all, is close to being a spirit (phī).

843 The prominence of food cravings in this traditional
262 description leads to a consideration of diet in pregnancy.

Diet in Pregnancy[28]

As long as everything went well, pregnant women "ate as usual." The underlying premise was that each woman early in childhood had established a regular diet suitable to her individual make-up of elements, and eliminated foods that because they did not agree with her or were disliked, were judged "not compatible." A woman could eat as usual because the ordinary daily foods, rice, coconut, etc., were "safe." The modifications introduced to beautify and protect the mother and baby were made on the basis of the properties and

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27. The goddess was following traditional "defeated by one's pregnancy" (phaethong [Mc.F: 599]) symptoms of desiring "sour, salty, or strange things such as burnt earth." Like any woman, her craving for sweets indicated that a heavenly creature was to be born; for fruits, that she would bring forth an animal; for burnt earth, that the god Brahma would be born (Anuman Rajadhon 1961:115-116).

[114] 28. This section does not purport to present a dietary study in modern nutritional terms. Hauck's study (1958) of maternal and child health gives information on foods eaten, craved, disliked, or viewed as "good for" or "not good for" women during child-bearing, and also on illnesses found among pregnant women, including beri-beri, nausea, cramps, and fainting. The data here add to her information on behavior and stress traditional views as to the purpose of the dietary injunctions.

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775 Moreover, her life would some day begin again. Whether birth
844 was rapid or slow, the experience of the suffering deepened her sense of compassion and, as will be shown, brought her closer to fulfillment of her life role.[41]

Habit

153 If mutual help organized relationships, habit (khoei)
82 stabilized them. Khoei means "to be used to, accustomed to,
853 habituated." A first occurrence was an example and set the pattern for all subsequent occurrences. With one performance
[761] one was accustomed to an action. For instance, shortly after the temple was built 7 people died, deaths in Bang Chan "always occurred in pairs;" it was the temple's "habit." Moverover, "the head priest could never expel a priest because he had never done so." Again, a few women saw to it that during this period their babies were given a few grains of rice (even though they were far too young to be offered new rice regularly), so that "later on, if they got sick, they could always at least eat rice," for "they would be used
[171] to it." "Glutinous rice was not good for babies in Bang Chan, but in North Thailand [where it was a staple] it could be eaten because people were used to it." Someone had set the example which started the custom.

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844 41. Bang Chan's Buddhist phrasing of the meaning of pain and
154 death in childbirth seems to indicate that childbirth occurred
171 under psycho-cultural conditions that induced relaxation and reduced fear and pain. An "easy" delivery lasted 7 hours.
114 According to a modern medical theory, (Dick-Read: Childbirth Without Fear, passim) lack of fear of childbirth leads to mental and physical relaxation which in turn reduces pain and labor. Dr. Dan Bradley observed that labor was shorter among Siamese women than among non-Siamese. "Facts seem to prove that parturition is both shorter and easier to Siamese mothers than is usual to Europeans and Americans" (Bradley, 1865:79). We accept his first-hand observation because he had 40 or more years of experience in delivering babies, both Thai and non-Thai (missionary wives, etc.), and suggest that it may be taken as proof of mental and physical relaxation derived from lack of fear. Although the missionary women may have been frightened because they were in a far country, Dick-Read argues that fear of childbirth has long been present among American women and this fear has the effect of longer, harder labor.

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A major clustering of first experiences, and so of habit formation, was in intra-uterine existence. Every experience of the mother was shared by the fetus. After birth, a baby daily formed habits of eating, sleeping, and crying, and later, as a child, habits of respect, obedience, truth-telling, etc. To create good habits efforts were bent to control and ameliorate any first experience: to make it as correct as possible; to seek out favorable astrological moments; to ask auspicious, skilled, or learned persons to be part of the initial action. An example was the establishment of nursing. When the baby was put to the breast the first time, the objective was not nourishment but to establish a good habit, viz. copious and strong sucking from an ample milk supply. Only after this first nursing did breast-milk as nourishment become important. If on this occasion he did not nurse well, he would have the habit of eating poorly all his life. Moreover, whatever the mother's experience with her first-born, it would not only be repeated every time he nursed, but set the nursing pattern for all subsequent children she bore. For her first-born, though, a mother would have had no previous experience of making milk. She had to be taught, or shown, how to make good milk, just as the baby had to be taught to suck, and later taught to eat rice. Consequently, the first-born baby was almost always first nursed by another person (not necessarily a kinswoman) with copious milk. Then 2 or 3 days later, because the example had been set, good milk came in and the mother started nursing. What was to be avoided at all costs was a first suck of colostrum, which appeared to be "unfit, early milk" from an insufficiently lactating breast. This would be a poor precedent. Until a mother decided her milk was right for nursing, a baby subsisted usually on honey and water, and maybe a little crushed banana. If a woman were not satisfied with her nursing capacities for her first-born child, when the second child was born she might ask another lactating woman to give the baby a first nursing so as to improve her own habit.[47] One woman flatly said her own milk was always unfit as proved by her babies' health, so she used a bottle of (canned) cow's milk from the start. She felt she had the habit

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47. Bradley (79-80) felt that the dehydration attendant on lying by the hot fire significantly reduced the quantity and quality of the milk.

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FOREWORD

• 114 The research sector of the Cornell Thailand Project concerned with health, sanitation, nutritional status, and diet has been directed since 1950 by the senior author of this paper, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, Professor of Food and Nutrition in the New York State College of Home Economics, Cornell [12] University. In this report, she and two of her colleagues present some of the results of a field research project designed by her and carried out by the authors among the rice farmers of the village of Bang Chan in the central plain of Thailand during 1952, 1953, and 1954. Professor Hauck's account of other aspects of this field investigation was issued in 1956 as Data Paper Number 22 of the Cornell University Southeast Asia Program under the title, Aspects of Health, Sanitation and Nutritional Status in a Siamese Rice Village. Since 1948, Thai and Americans have been working in the Bang Chan farming community to define some of the problems involved in changing peasant cultural behavior, including health and food habits.

While in the field in 1952-53, Professor Hauck began the arduous task of systematically collecting detailed data on the diets of a carefully selected sample of Bang Chan villagers. This work was continued during 1953-54 by Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, the junior author of this report. Her assignment was a demanding one, for once begun there could be little deviation from an established schedule designed to cover diurnal and annual cycles in the preparation and consumption of food. Miss Saovanee together with a suitable companion had to sleep in the village, rise before dawn, and proceed during the dry season by foot, and by boat during the longer wet season to the homes selected for study. Some of these households were situated two or three miles from the Project's village headquarters. Only one could be visited in a day. All homes had to be reached well before pre-daylight breakfast preparations were begun so that equipment could be readied and preliminary observations made. After a year of this dawn to dusk visiting, Miss Saovanee retired to a more normal daily round of post-graduate study in nutrition at Cornell, where she received her M.S. degree in 1956, and at Harvard, where she is a candidate for the doctorate. She plans to return to Thailand to teach and do research in nutrition at Kasetsart University.

The necessary companionship for Miss Saovanee during her field work in Bang Chan, a companionship involving, of course, the same rigorous and taxing schedule, was cheerfully provided by Dr. Jane Richardson Hanks of Bennington College, the third collaborator in the preparation of this report. Dr. Hanks has worked with the Cornell Thailand Project since early

1953 as Research Associate in Cultural Anthropology. Her research in the field during 1953-54 and subsequently in the United States, which has been primarily concerned with various aspects of Thai family behavior, has enabled her to contribute valuable data and insights to the present report.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Cornell Thailand Project

Cornell Research Center
Bangkok, Thailand
November, 1957

2: Hauck et al. D,E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

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122 For the period of her field study, 1952-53, one of us (H.M.H.) received an award for advanced research from the United States Educational (Fulbright) Foundation in Thailand. Another (S.S.), who was field worker with the Cornell Thailand Project during 1953-54, was enabled to come to the United States for graduate study through a travel grant from the same Foundation. She held an assistantship in the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University 1954-55, and the Anna Cora Smith Scholarship for Research in Home Economics, 1955-56.

114 To their co-workers in the field, Dr. Anusith Rajatasilpin and Miss Sapha Indrasud whose services in connection [122] with the medical inspection were provided by the Food and Drug Administration, Bangkok, through the courtesy of its director, Dr. Yong H. Chutima, the authors express their appreciation.

Most helpful information concerning techniques which might be used in carrying out dietary studies was provided by Miss M. W. Grant of the Applied Nutrition Unit, London School of Tropical Medicine. Dr. Amara Chandrapanond suggested adaptations suitable to the local situation.

The transcription of Thai terms was checked by Mr. Marvin Brown. Dr. W. J. Dress assisted by checking the scientific names of food plants for which the authors had previously obtained identification. Many minor points were cleared up by discussion with Thai students in this country. The help of all these persons is gratefully acknowledged.

Most of all, the authors are indebted to the people of Bang Chan: to all who patiently answered their questions, to Khruu Sawad Sangtong and Khruu Yod Nakon who obtained diet records from children in the third and fourth grades, and especially to the members of the eleven households that participated in the quantitative dietary study. These people not only cooperated generously, but accepted us as friends. For their kindly assistance the authors are deeply grateful.

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INTRODUCTION

121 This study of food habits and nutrient intakes in a Siamese rice village was undertaken in connection with the Cornell Thailand Project. The project is one of several under the auspices of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, which are focused on the process of cultural change
• 114 in non-industrialized societies. Dietary studies designed to contribute to a base-line description of the community were carried out from September, 1952 through May, 1954. Local headquarters, where members of the research group kept equipment, and could stay overnight, were maintained in the village.

128 The observations to be reported fall into two general categories: 1) descriptive information concerning many aspects of the food situation in Bang Chan and 2) quantitative information on food intake, and its estimated nutrient
126 value, for 11 selected families. Qualitative information on food in Bang Chan was obtained from several sources: 1) field notes made by various members of the Cornell research group, 2) structured interviews with mothers about their own food, and that of small children in the family, 3) records of food eaten during 24-hour periods, submitted by children in the third and fourth grades of the elementary school as homework for the health class, and 4) weighed dietary studies carried
114 out in 11 selected households. Quantitative information on food intakes was obtained from the latter source only. Most of the data to be presented were obtained between September 1952 and June 1954, but supplementary information was obtained from a diary for 1955, kept by a school teacher at the request of the research group, a study of innovations made by Ralis in May 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957) and information provided at our request by members of the Cornell research group who were in Thailand in the summer of 1957.

A general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49, together with some material on health and diet was given in the first interim report issued on the Thailand Project (Sharp et al., 1953). The second interim report concerned aspects of health, sanitation and nutritional status in Bang Chan in 1952-54 (Hauck, 1956), and the third was a report on factors related to acceptance of innovations (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957).

THE COMMUNITY

Location, Climate, Transportation

131 Bang Chan is situated in the rice-producing area of central Thailand, about twenty miles by road northeast of Bangkok.

What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with inadequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme, in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affiliated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes staying home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

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1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

792 262 441 village offers of regular service, the holiday offerings, home invitations and sporadic gifts so that all priests had places to go, no one had much more than any other, and that the whole temple did not undergo periods of undue glut[1] or hardship.

792 794 262 About mid-July, Buddhist Lent changed the food habits somewhat. This three-month period corresponded with the height of the rainy season. Priests did not leave the temple to gather offerings on rainy mornings, but younger priests, assisted by the temple boys, cooked meals from supplies on hand. On the first day of Lent, people brought less perishable foods: green bananas, coconuts, sugar cane, pomelo, sweet potatoes, taro, onions, garlic, salt, sugar, dry salted beef paste, dried fish, canned goods, and milled rice. During Lent fresh or cooked foods were brought in, and some ladies volunteered to cook for varying periods of time. On a holiday in September, families made up such quantities of a sweet of "puffed" glutinous rice, sesame seed, and peanuts pounded and held together with sirup and sometimes covered with grated coconut that priests were tired of it and many children got diarrhea from overeating of it.

In mid-October, the Lenten restrictions ended with another holiday offering, and thereafter the priests went regularly on their appointed rounds.

796 261 On Buddhist holidays, the people did not usually eat any of the food brought to the temple, but on (3)thaanaad (2)kaa-(5)thin[2], an all-day festival held in October or November, after feeding the priests, the people also ate bountifously.

792 857 262 Residing at Wat Bang Chan in 1954 were 22 boys, aged 10 to 16, sent to serve the priests, get their living and attend school. Most of them were from poor or disorganized homes. They shared the food offerings from which they received three meals a day. Among the children's food records, the food listed by these boys as eaten the day before was comparatively diverse.

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792 262 737 235 1. Amounts of food given usually exceeded the actual needs of the priests and temple boys. One instance was noted in which food was sent by the priests to a needy old person nearby. Leftover rice was dried and sold for chicken feed.

114 104 2. The transcription used throughout this report is that described by Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 12-15. Numbers in parentheses represent the different tones of the syllables.

canal misjudged his needs for milled rice and ran out, he had to mill his own paddy. Since the main canal was deepened in 1953, year-round transportation of rice by boat has been possible for many more farmers, and this may further decrease the consumption of home-milled rice.

Of 105 households which had and used a home rice mill, 99 used the polishings for feed but no family in Bang Chan used them for human food (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957). One farmer, headman of a hamlet, who lived near the main canal and the road to Minburi but who used home-milled rice, offered as the reason that the polishings were good chicken feed, and if he took rice to Minburi to be milled, the miller would keep the polishings.

As reported by Janlekha (1955) consumption of milled rice in 106 households amounted to about 285 kilograms per capita per year or 780 grams per person per day. Such "household consumption" includes "losses to pests and poultry, daily gifts to priests, contributions to temples and outlays for feasts and rites in undetermined but considerable amounts" (Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 265-266).

Flesh Foods Other than Fish. - The people of Bang Chan had a taste and appreciation for flesh food, but the production and use of meat was certainly inhibited by Buddhist tenets which prohibited the taking of life.[1] Killing of poultry, fish, etc. was tolerated among the relatively young, but was considered unsuitable to the aged who should be preoccupied with living virtuously. People felt, however, that the sin of taking life was condoned if they offered part of an animal to the priests.

Since many villagers were unwilling to slaughter buffaloes even when they become aged and useless, such animals were commonly kept until they died. Animals which had died of old age or disease were not, however, regarded by Thai Buddhists in Bang Chan as unfit for human consumption. Usually they were cut up and given to the priests. When the buffalo belonging to one family (Household 67)[2] participating in the dietary survey died, some of the meat was used fresh for curry, much

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1. Meat such as water buffalo and pork as well as fish was sold by venders. Since meat was relatively expensive and was usually used in small amounts with other foods, it was offered for sale in chunks which no longer resembled the living animal. Seeing such small quantities spared the sensibilities of the Buddhists who were thus removed a step from the killing. Actual butchering was done by Moslems or Chinese who did not object.

2. Households were identified by numbers assigned by lot.

might provide clues to ways in which the diet may be improved. Most of these items were included in lists given by Sharp et al. (1953)[1]. To those lists should be added the following items from our food records:

Green leafy and yellow vegetables: Leaves of bergamot, chili, morinda, onion, potato, pumpkin, (2)sa-(5)noo, and of the following trees: (2)ma-(1)dan, (4)khlyb[2] and West Indian pea tree; (2)kha-(1)cauaun flowers.

Other vegetables: flowers of leek and pumpkin, and Chinese or black truffle (water chestnut).

Fruits: Thai nutmeg and tomato.

Fresh foods other than fish: buffalo, duck, cobra, turtle and field rat.

At the end of Chart 2, sources of water for drinking and food preparation have been included, not only because water is properly considered a nutrient, but also because the water used in preparation of food may affect the wholesomeness of foods eaten raw or with little cooking.

Untreated water was the customary beverage with meals. Ordinarily no distinction was made in source of drinking water for children and adults although boiled water was given to mothers and infants to drink during the post partum rest period (Hauck, 1956). Occasionally a sick person would be given boiled water to drink; for example one man who said he was "a little sick" and "not working" was observed to drink hot boiled water from a thermos bottle. In 1955, Ralis[3] found that tea was seldom or never drunk by nearly 3/4 of the respondents. Less than 7% drank it frequently. Thus in Bang Chan no custom had grown up which would afford the general population with a measure of protection against infection from

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1. See Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 193-196 for a list of 32 fish known to be found in Bang Chan; pp. 293-294 for 34 fruits grown in Bang Chan, and p. 295 for 11 fruits known to be used but not grown there; pp. 296-298 for 41 vegetables grown in Bang Chan, and pp. 299-300 for 24 other vegetables used.

2. (4)Khlyb was the term used in Bang Chan for an unidentified tree of the family Leguminosae. Its sweet tasting leaves were washed in boiling water to get rid of a bad odor, then were eaten with (4)nam (4)phrig, a chili sauce.

3. Golden and Ralis, 1957, p. 57. The answers to: "Do you drink tea frequently, occasionally, seldom or never?" were: often, 22; occasionally, 68; seldom, 158; never, 85.

252 a woman's" (Sharp et al., 1953, p. 88). For instance, the
462 husband cooked when his wife was away from home, e.g. selling in the market or in farm labor, and of course when she was
252 sick or resting after childbirth. The ability of boys as well
867 as girls to cook rice and some of the accompaniments was taken for granted. A girl or boy could cook rice "as soon as he could lift the rice pot," e.g. at 6 or so; by age 12 he could cook a creditable meal. In mid-December, 1952, on the last day of school before vacation, one of us saw committees of school children (aged 7-14 years) preparing food for a special meal, on the school grounds. The variety of dishes prepared and the ease with which the children went about their tasks gave evidence of the home experience these children had had
252 (Hauck, 1953). Responsibility for food preparation increased
[383] with age up to about 15 years, after which all available able-bodied family members did field work during the busy seasons (cf. p. 11). Several hours per day were spent in cooking and by middle age, parents were eager to turn this job over to a
[397] daughter or daughter-in-law. If they had no daughter, this was an explicit reason for adopting a baby girl.

252 Certain men of eminence, e.g. headmen and elders, would
554 not be asked to cook at all, but as they aged, they might re-
887 turn to the task. One old headman, all of whose children had married and left home, said that he was doing the cooking for
252 2 months because his wife had back trouble. Some dishes were
562 cooked by men only, even when their wives stood by: turtle, frog and cobra curries, for instance. These were also food for men only, suitable to serve at a drinking party.

252 A premium was put on good cooking, and certain women
261 who were noted for their cooking were in great demand for large
[868] scale food preparation during the ceremonial season. One farmer planned to send his daughter to learn from such a skilled cook, having in mind the food preparation which would be needed when his sons were old enough to be ordained. Adverse comments might be made if the food did not come up to expectation; thus, a small boy complained that his curry was "too salty," and an old woman said loudly that the curry made by her 16-year old grand-daughter was "not good," although this girl was the only one at home to cook.

Meal Patterns[1] and Preparation of Typical Thai Dishes

252 Food was commonly prepared twice a day, in the morning
264 and late afternoon. The meal pattern was the same for breakfast

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• 114 1. Suvarnakich (1950) described the Thai diet in a
262 general way and Sharp et al., (1953, pp. 263-274) summarized the small amount of information on diet in Bang Chan obtained during the preliminary study in 1948-49.

storekeeper: about 800-900 liter bottles per month during the 3 months dry season as compared to about 350 bottles per month during the 9 months of the rice season.

Moslems never served liquor at their weddings, cremations, and other auspicious events. Moslem residents occasionally attended Buddhist (l)ngaan in spite of dietary proscriptions that Buddhists did not observe.[1] A medium (spiritualist) commented however that because pig's head was essential for her homage-to-the-teacher rites, some Moslem sick persons preferred to go to the Buddhist temple for treatment. There the priest-practitioner could afford to set up a separate kitchen for his Moslem patients, and so spare them the distress of confronting pork. To one big ordination Moslem guests brought their own food. Buddhists came somewhat more often to Moslem ceremonies.

We do not have enough information to appraise the nutritional significance of food eaten at ceremonies. Some individuals got a great deal of it, others very little. One must remember that the (l)ngaan was not a public but a private event at home, to which guests came on invitation. Although cremations and the teacher-rites of priest-practitioners were held at the temple, and so had a semi-public character, no one who was not invited presented himself for food. Of the participants, the working group undoubtedly received the most food; they were there the longest time, had regular meals, tastings and snacks throughout the (l)ngaan meal itself. This group comprised the host, co-sponsors and their immediate kin; other relatives and friends who were asked or who volunteered to help. The feeling was, if one were "very fond" of the host, one volunteered to cook. If less close, one was invited as a guest, but made the usual cash donation. Sociable persons combining skill and energy were invited often and volunteered often, hence spent many days at ceremonies. Young unmarried men and women were asked and liked to be asked to work, for such occasions offered a great chance for fun and flirting.

Different degrees of participation may be estimated from Janlekha's (1955) figures for reported contributions ranging from 30 to 1000 baht in a year. Since a contribution of 5 to 10 baht per (l)ngaan was customary, the villager with the lowest reported contribution probably attended from 3 to 6 ceremonial occasions. Attendance at 100 or more (l)ngaan is unlikely, hence the villager who gave as much as 1000 baht probably made larger contributions per (l)ngaan.

What sort of persons or groups in the village were invited as guests? Every host's list included his older

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1. Moslems were said to resist army service because they were afraid they would have to eat pork.

184 On the basis of experience during the pretest, the ob-
125 server began the 24-hour period of observation with an unannounced visit in the afternoon, in time to see the preparation for the evening meal. This proved to have several advantages. A householder whose home had been visited at the evening meal, and who anticipated the observer's return before breakfast, could restrain the dog, if necessary; or the homemaker might postpone washing the rice until the observer arrived to weigh it. Without such cooperation on the part of the homemaker, our records would have been much less complete
[405] than they were. Since few village families had clocks, the time when the homemaker said she would start breakfast was always approximate.

125 Foods were weighed in both the raw and cooked states,
262 and foods given to priests, fed to animals, left over, etc. were weighed so that the actual amount eaten by the family could be calculated. Previously cooked foods included in the survey meals were weighed and raw weights estimated from information obtained in other observations. If possible, snacks were weighed. School children and others who ate snacks away from home were asked to report them to the obser-
128 ver, and weights were estimated. The guides prepared for
262 the observer are included in Appendix C, pp. 110-111. Data were recorded on the schedule, shown in Appendix C, pp. 116-120. and essential information such as the weights of food, after allowing for weight of containers, was later transferred to the shorter form shown in Appendix C, p. 121. As examples some of the data obtained on 3 of the 44 survey days are shown. Examples of notes on procedures in food preparation are included with these records. For examples of notes on the food intake of individuals see Appendix A, p. 97.

Calculation of Nutritive Value of the Diets

Figures from the original records were transferred to the Form for Calculating Raw Weights of Foods Eaten (Appendix C, p. 121), and the edible portion of each raw ingredient consumed was calculated by adjusting the gross amounts according to the use made of the cooked food and the number of family members present. Procedures followed are outlined in Appendix C, pp. 113-115.[1]

Few analyses of Thai foods had been made in Thai laboratories, and most of these were for proximate composition only. Therefore, data from other available sources were used. Since Handbook No. 34 of the United States Department of Agriculture "Composition of Foods Used in Far Eastern Countries" (Leung

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[114] 1. Many of the calculations were checked by Mrs. Mary Barkley Campbell, who made independent use of the data.

APPENDIX A

Description of the Kitchen and Some Notes on Food Preparation in a Relatively Prosperous Household[1]

Friday, May 22, 1953

Arrived at 5:15 a.m. When we reached the house, the mother was holding the dog. The house was dark, and we walked around sleeping babies and children. . . . . The 15 year old niece who prepares meals here, was already at work. For light she had an oil lamp, a tin of about 1 pt. capacity, with wick. The rice was already measured, but she waited until SS could weigh it, before putting it on to cook. SS used her flashlight to see the scale and her notebook.

The kitchen here has a thatched roof, well smoked, but the walls and "windows" are of woven split bamboo. A sliding wooden "window" can be pushed back to allow access to a broad shelf outside. Here a large pan of pond water is kept, so that dishes may be rinsed and hands rinsed after each operation. Dishes are stacked upside down, on a wooden rack nearby, to dry.

The stove area in the corner has place for one fire, but several places for pots to stand. Downstairs, under the shed near the fish pond, is a larger clay stove, where the niece cooks the rice in the morning (enough for noon as well) and some other items; for example the (3)khii-(2)leg leaves which were cooked last night for use in sour curry this a.m. This probably keeps the kitchen cooler than it would otherwise be. Waste, fish bones, vegetable parings, etc., which are to be given to the chickens, can be thrown below through the space between two floor levels (kitchen and main rooms).

Rice water, coconut water, and food left in the serving bowls when the meal is over, are given to the dogs. A bowl is kept below, near where rice is drained, for dog food. Food left in pots is kept for humans to eat.

Fish caught in the pond are kept alive in pond water, in a water jar. When a fish is wanted, the niece catches one from the jar, stuns it with the back of her knife, and scales and cleans it on a split log nearby (rounded side of log up). The fish is put into a small basket, and the niece

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1. In reproducing these notes, slight changes have been made such as substitution of descriptive terms for personal names which appeared in the original.

Notes on Tilapia Culture in Bang Chan

226 654 In 1952, the Thai government, at the suggestion of FAO, began to encourage tilapia culture. Fingerlings and some information on tilapia culture could be obtained from the Minburi district office, where a demonstration pond was maintained. Early in 1953, we learned from the records of the district officer that three persons in Bang Chan, two of them hamlet headmen, had obtained tilapia from this source. In 1953 the commune chief called a meeting in the village and explained the importance of tilapia raising. In May 1955 when Ralis conducted a survey in Bang Chan (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957), tilapia raising had been tried in nearly a third (31%) of the households, but was considered by 2/3 of the respondents to pay little.

The authors comment:

> From discussions with the people it appears that they are learning by trial and error to raise tilapia. Though fish culture is, for them, mainly a sideline activity, nevertheless, it requires the building of a special dam, care in preventing other fish from devouring young tilapia and maintaining the appropriate balance of fresh water in a given pool. The loss resulting from the fish dying or being eaten by others is relatively high. Although tilapia multiply [434] rapidly, the cash return is not as great as that realized from mushroom growing. The cycle of raising tilapia lasts about four months.

From the comments just quoted, tilapia culture appears to have been undertaken for the anticipated cash return. No [114] information was obtained by Ralis concerning the extent to which the villagers used tilapia to increase their supply of fish for home use. In the summer of 1957 members of the research group who visited Bang Chan found that no one was raising tilapia; they were neither a source of food nor of cash. Some indication was obtained that their flavor and texture were not agreeable. Clearly the attempt to introduce a rapidly growing but unfamiliar variety of fish failed in Bang Chan. An understanding of the reasons for this failure might help to prevent other costly failures in future.

Notes on Mushroom Culture in Bang Chan

177 244 Goldsen and Ralis (1957) commented as follows:

> Three years ago the commercial growing of mushrooms in Bang Chan was unknown. By 1955, the practice of growing mushrooms had reached into many homes (44 per

APPENDIX C

Guides Prepared for the Observer Who Carried Out the Dietary Study

114 125 124 Preliminary Visit to Participating Households

Households selected for dietary study are to be visited in advance, acquainted with the procedure which we wish to follow, and asked for their cooperation.

The following points should be emphasized:

1) Meals should be prepared as usual both in amount and kind. Workers wish to know how much food and what kind, the family eats.

2) Each item of food which enters into the meal preparation will be weighed before cooking.

3) Each prepared food (as cooked rice, fried fish, curry, etc.) will be weighed when the preparation is finished.

4) Amounts of prepared food given to priests, fed to animals or left over, must be weighed, so that the amount of food actually eaten by the family can be calculated.

5) As often as possible survey members would like to be present during the meal, but will not accept food from the household.

6) Each member of the family will be asked to report to the survey worker what is eaten between meals. If the snack is eaten at home, it should be brought to the survey worker first, to be weighed. If the snack is eaten away from home, individuals are asked to tell the survey worker as clearly as possible what was eaten, and how much.

Preliminary information to be obtained at this interview:

1) Usual number of meals taken by the family at this season.

2) Usual time of meals.

3) Time when food preparation is started in the morning, and when evening meal is over.

The family should be told that the survey workers will come sometime during the next two weeks. They should not be told which day, as that might lead them to make some changes in their usual diets, either consciously or unconsciously.

114 The schedule of visits should be such that each day of
124 the Buddhist "week" will be appropriately represented, i.e.
125 the day before the holy day, the Buddhist holy day, and the 5 or 6 days which follow. Days of special festivals should not be included in the dietary survey, although the investigators should attend many of these, and record observations on the foods served.

Dietary Survey Proper: General Procedures, with Alternative Suggestions

Twenty-four hour period. - Each visit should cover a 24-hour period. After preliminary experience, a good plan seems to be to go in the early afternoon, in time to see the preparation for the evening meal, and to return early the next day, remaining until the 24-hour period is up. This plan has several advantages over making one's first appearance before breakfast:

1) The homemaker may be introduced to the procedure at a time when she is less hurried than she is apt to be in the morning, when she must have food ready for the priests at a fairly definite time.

2) Scales and other equipment may be left overnight, so that these need not be carried before dawn, along with food and water for the survey worker.

3) The risk that food preparation will be started before the worker comes is less if the homemaker expects the survey worker before breakfast.

4) If the worker's visit is anticipated, someone at the house will restrain the dog if necessary.

5) For the more remote households, arrangements can probably be made to stay overnight at the home, or nearby, without previous notification as to the exact date of one's visit.

Because the observer may leave in the afternoon before children return from school, she should ask about snacks eaten away from home on the first afternoon, so that record will be obtained of such snacks eaten on one day, though not necessarily during the same 24-hour period as the other meals recorded.

Number of Visits. - Aim to visit each of the 11 families once each 3 months, i.e. 4 times in the year. This means once during the cool season, once during the dry season, and twice during the rainy season, i.e. early and late. From May 25, 1953 to the end of April 1954 there are 49 weeks. In a schedule calling for one survey day each week, this would allow 5 weeks for unforeseen circumstances which might interfere,

114 or for planning time off because of holidays, celebrations, 124 etc. 125

Scheduling of Visits. - Plan to see the families in rotation, going to those in groups A and B on alternate weeks, so that seasonal variation in food supply will not be a major difference between the two groups. The survey worker must have in mind another nearby home, however, which might be visited if the original plan cannot be carried out on a given day.

The survey worker should not give advance notice of the exact day when she plans to come, unless the householder has specifically requested this. Even when notice is requested, it need not be long in advance, i.e. one could stop by in the morning and ask if it would be all right to come back in the afternoon to watch supper preparation.

Directions for Use of Schedule 8 on Which Data Obtained During the Dietary Survey are to be Recorded.

Most of the items in this schedule may be filled in from census information or by direct observation by the survey worker. The worker will need to enquire re item E. the makeup of the food consumption unit, and J 4, the cost of raw foods purchased. The survey worker should try to observe other items during the day, and fill in by inquiry, if necessary, at the end of the day. Note whether information was obtained by observation (ob) or inquiry (q).

A. Hamlet and house number should be written in from the census information, and should correspond to that on schedule 3 for the same household.

B. Each Household to be visited for dietary survey will be given a key number in advance. This number should be inserted here.

C. Head of household (from census information).

D. Religion. - Some dietary practices are associated with religion, therefore indicate whether the household is Buddhist or Islam by checking the appropriate space.

E. Composition of food consumption unit: List here all persons whose food is prepared in the kitchen which the observer is visiting. Note that all persons living in one household (i.e. at the same house number) may not belong to one food consumption unit.

F. Source and treatment of water. - Find out, by observation if possible, from what source or sources water is obtained for drinking and food preparation, at this season. Note

114 whether or not water is boiled or treated otherwise before
124 use.
125

G. Garbage disposal. - While making the dietary survey, the observer should note what is done with garbage. Is edible waste given animals? Is garbage disposal carried out in such a way that it will not attract flies, etc.?

H. Protection of food against contamination. - The observer should note what means are used by the householder to protect both staple and perishable foods from contamination by insects and animals. If the householder's practices are not consistent, the observer should note this, either on the schedule, or in her note book. In the latter case, the schedule should be plainly marked "see notes."

I. Family member observed at meal time. - We have been unable to think of any plan for weighing foods consumed by individual members of the family without disturbing the customary eating procedures. The observer may be able, however, to get some idea as to how food is distributed in the family, by observing one person at a time, and recording her estimate of the individual food intake.

The person chosen for observation should be one of the family members who would be most vulnerable to an inadequate food supply, for example a pregnant or lactating woman, a young baby, a growing child or an old person. The observer should fix her attention on the person to be observed, throughout the meal, and should record as well as possible the amounts eaten of each type of food. Record amounts taken onto the plate, amounts left on the plate at the end of the meal, number of bites or spoonfuls of each item eaten a) directly from the serving dishes and b) after the food is put on the plate. Check your estimates of amount eaten by the person observed with reference to the total prepared for and consumed by the family.

From observations of this sort we hope to get information on questions such as the following:

1. When a child is said to eat all adult food, does this mean that the kinds of "with-rice" and the proportions of rice to "with-rice" are the same for him as for adults?

2. If a pregnant or lactating woman says she eats as usual except for the hot tastes, does this mean a) that she omits or decreases intake of peppery foods and eats no more than usual of other foods or b) that she omits or decreases intake of peppery foods and eats more rice and/or less highly seasoned "with-rice" items? In the case of a child, note carefully any remarks made by adults urging him to eat more of, or suggesting that he eat less of a given item.

114 J. Food preparation and consumption
125

In the schedule, each column has a descriptive heading and a number. On the sheet used for calculating "adjusted consumption," the numbers alone are used.

1. Menu. Record title of meal as "breakfast" or "dinner" and time served. List all foods served at each meal, including leftover foods from the previous day. If foods left over from an earlier meal on the same day are used, note this fact, since weight of raw food, noted when the food was prepared can be used in calculation.

Raw ingredients

2. Kind. Note here the name of each ingredient, and any description needed, i.e. fat or lean pork, hen or duck egg, etc. Since rice is served at each meal the terms "home milled" and polished are listed here. Cross out the inappropriate one.

3. A.P. (as purchased) weight. Record here the weight of the food as it is purchased, or as it comes from the storehouse, garden or canal. If several food items are used in preparation of one dish, bracket these together.

4. Cost. For foods which have been purchased, record cost of the amount used. For example, if 3 fish were purchased for 1 baht, but one only was prepared at this time, record 33 stg. as the cost. If the food was produced at home, grew wild, or was received as a gift, note this.

5. Inedible refuse. Note weight of inedible refuse which is discarded during preparation. If the inedible portion is included in the cooked dish, weigh it later and record the weight in this column.

6. E. P. (edible portion). Add together all weights of inedible refuse for a given item to get the total for item 5. Subtract 5 from 3 to get this figure.

Note on weighing raw food: So far as possible, weigh raw food and inedible refuse on waxed paper (weight negligible) or in standard utensils (enamel plate, plastic bowl, etc.) the weights of which are known. Record: weight of A.P. food on utensil minus weight of utensil equals weight of food. For example, if rice is weighed in a plastic bowl weighing 90 g., and the total weight is 870 g., 870-90 = 780 (g. rice). The observer is less apt to make mistakes if she uses the same containers repeatedly, than if containers used are provided by the household, and vary widely in weight. The balances provided for weighing food are 3 kg./10 g. and 1 kg./4 g. Small amounts of food should always be weighed on the 1 kg. scale, since it is more sensitive than

114 the 3 kg. scale. If a number of items are used in small
125 amounts, weights may be approximated more closely if the items are placed one after another, on a piece of waxed paper, noting each time the added weight causes the indicator to move. Thus the red or green pepper alone might not weigh enough to affect the indicator, but these together with other green or leafy materials used (as lemon grass, coriander leaves and sweet basil) might weigh 8 grams. In a marginal diet, the contributions of such items to the nutritive value of the diet should not be overlooked.

Cooked foods. - For cooked foods, which must often be weighed in a container provided by the family, columns are provided for weight of dish (7), of dish plus food (8) and of food (9). For example, if rice is to be cooked in an aluminum kettle, weigh the empty kettle and record this weight in column 7. When the rice is done, and ready to serve, weigh kettle plus cooked rice, and record this in column 8. Subtract 7 from 8 and get the weight of food, to be recorded in column 9.

Use of cooked food

10. If food is given away, weigh dish and food before and after the food is offered, to get weight of food given away. Record the weights before and after and the difference, in column 10. Specify whether the recipient is priest, neighbor, relative etc. If inedible portion is included, note this and weigh it if possible.

11. Fed to stock. If inedible portion is given, note this and weigh it if possible. Specify if fluid only is given, or if part of the complete dish.

12. Edible waste. Specify if this is fluid only or a representative part of the complete dish.

13. Left over. Specify if this is fluid only or a representative part of the complete dish. Note if inedible portion is included and weigh it if possible. If you must leave in the evening before all family members have eaten, explain that you wish to weigh all left over food, and arrange to have it kept in separate dishes so that you can weigh it in the morning.

14. Food eaten. Weigh the pot or serving dish before and after the meal. At the end of the meal, weigh inedible portions left on plates or in the pot, and correct for those to get the weight of cooked food actually eaten.

15. Persons eating. Record here the number of persons in the consumption unit (item E) minus the number absent from this meal (x), plus the number of guests (y). Thus if there are 6 members of the family, one of whom is away, write 6 - 1 x + 5. Similarly if there are 6 members of the family,

plus a guest, write 6 + 1 y = 7. If one member of this family is away but a guest is present, write 6 - 1 x + 1 y = 6. In calculating, if the number of persons eating a given meal differs from the usual number in the household, the amount of a given food eaten is multiplied by a factor representing the number of persons in the household/number of persons present. Thus if a guest shares the meal in a household consisting of 6 persons, all of whom are present, the weight of each food eaten should be multiplied by 6/7 to get the "adjusted consumption," for which nutritive value is to be calculated. Similarly, if 5 only of the 6 members of the household eat a given meal at home, the weight of each food eaten should be multiplied by 6/5 to get the "adjusted consumption."

16. Methods of preparation. Describe the method of preparation clearly enough so that one who was not present could visualize it. Specify if soaking or cooking water is discarded. Note cooking time and appearance of cooked product when these give a clue as to probable nutritive value. Thus greens which are added at the last, cooked only a short time so that they retain their color, may be expected to retain a maximum amount of their vitamin C. Note type of equipment used.

K. Snacks. Record snacks eaten between meals on the separate sheet provided. Ask persons who eat snacks at home to bring them to you first, to be weighed. Question each member of the family about foods eaten away from home during the day, and record the kind of snack, description, and weight. (Estimated weights should be put in parenthesis, to distinguish them from observed weights.) If the snack was purchased, record the cost. Under "person eating" note the name of the family member who ate each snack.

From these data we hope to get an idea as to the nature and probable nutritive value of snacks, and whether these are eaten by all or most members of the family, or by certain ones only, as by the school children at recess.

NOTES ON THE PREPARATION AND NUTRITIVE VALUE OF COCONUT MILK AND COCONUT CREAM

252 The term coconut cream ((5)hua (2)ka-(4)thi), as it 262 was used in Thailand, referred to the product which was made by squeezing grated coconut with little or no addition of water. Coconut milk ((4)naam (2)ka-(4)thi) was made by squeezing grated coconut repeatedly with water. Coconut cream might be made first, and the residue extracted one or more additional times to obtain coconut milk. The terms coconut milk and coconut cream apparently are not used consistently. Losee (1952) commented on this when he described the preparation of coconut cream in Samoa, and said that it was sometimes called coconut milk. Miller et al. (1936), in describing the preparation of coconut milk said "If a thick cocoanut milk to serve over puddings, taro leaves, etc. is desired, 1/2 to 3/4 cup of coconut water or boiling water should be poured over 3 cups of grated coconut. . . . If the milk is to be used in curry sauce for chicken, eggs, shrimps, or in cornstarch pudding, a larger quantity of water (1 to 2 cups of water to 3 cups of grated coconut) may be used."

126 In carrying out the dietary study, the observer weighed the grated coconut meat, the residue and the final products, coconut milk or cream, or both. She did not weigh the water as it was added in successive portions, but the amount of added water could be calculated.

196 The ratio of coconut milk to meat varied considerably, 262 but on the average, households in Group A obtained coconut milk which weighed more than eight times as much as the coconut meat from which it was made. Households in Group B obtained less than 2½ times as much milk by weight as coconut meat. The number of extractions made varied from 2 to 6, 196 with a mode of 3. Obviously, the products made by Groups A 171 and B, although both called coconut milk, had markably differ- 262 ent percentage composition, and neither was similar to "coconut milk" for which values could be found. These values were as follows:

Authors	Location	Coconut milk grams per 100 gm. E. P. Pro.	Fat	Carbo.
Bocobo et al.	Philippine Islands	3.6	33.2	38.4
Food and Drug Division	Thailand	3.52	34.75	1.52
Miller et al.	Hawaii	4.0	27.0	18.91

1. Personal communication

3:Hauck et al. D-5 (1952-1954) 1959 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

FOREWORD

In this Data Paper, Professor Hauck and her associates continue their analysis and reporting of the field research into conditions of health, sanitation, nutritional status, and diet carried out in Thailand during 1953, 1953, and 1954. Research operations were concentrated among the 300 households of the village of Bang Chan, whose population of about 1,700 was made up primarily of rice farming families. This community lies in the central plain of Thailand some twenty roadmiles northeast of the capital, Bangkok, whose proximity provides major and continuing stimuli to cultural change. Investigation of the processes involved in changing cultural behavior in rural Thailand is the primary objective of this and other field research conducted under the auspices of the Cornell Thailand Project.

Reference to earlier reports by Professor Hauck and her associates and to other materials providing general background information for this study will be found in the bibliography included in this interim report. Dr. Hauck, who is Professor of Food and Nutrition in the New York State College of Home Economics, Cornell University, designed and supervised the research on basic problems of health in Bang Chan reported on in this and in the other studies cited. Of the other contributors to this present report, Dr. Asmith, who has been working in the Medical School of Tulane University, is associated with the School of Public Health in Bangkok, and Dr. Saovanee, having completed her doctoral work in nutrition at Harvard University, has returned to Thailand to join the faculty in home economics at Kasetsart University. The Cornell Thailand Project is much indebted to these scholars and to other Thai and American collaborators who have contributed so much to the studies of Bang Chan.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Cornell Thailand Project

Ithaca, New York
November, 1959

3:Hauck et al. D-5 (1952-1954) 1959 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

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• 114 For the period of her field study, 1953-53, the author
122 received an award for advanced research from the United States Educational (Fulbright) Foundation in Thailand.

The author wishes to express her gratitude for the assistance of her Thai co-workers: Dr. Anusith Rajatasilpin and Miss Sapha Indrasud, whose services were provided by the Food and Drug Administration, Bangkok, Thailand, through the courtesy of its director, Dr. Yong H. Chutima; and Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, who served as field worker with the Cornell Thailand Project during 1953-54.

114 In connection with their graduate study at Cornell, Sylvia de la Paz summarized the observations on feeding practices of children from birth to two years, and Barbara J. Smith summarized data obtained on growth in height and weight of infants and small children in Bang Chan.

123 The author is particularly grateful for the interest and friendliness of the parents, especially the mothers of Bang Chan. They patiently answered our questions at each visit and reassured the small children who seldom saw strangers and who were unused to being weighed and measured. Without their generous cooperation this study would not have been possible.

[p. vi is blank]

3:Hauck et al. D-5 (1952-1954) 1959 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

GROWTH IN HEIGHT AND WEIGHT OF INFANTS AND YOUNG CHILDREN

Evidence on growth in height and weight of Thai is scant. So far as we have been able to learn, all available studies have been cross-sectional. We, therefore, undertook, in the limited time available, to make longitudinal studies of growth of infants and small children and elementary school children in Bang Chan. Observations on the latter were summarized by Thorangkul (1957) and those of infants and small children, by Smith (1958).

In general Thai children of elementary school age are shorter and weigh less than Western children of the same age. Heights of children in the Bang Chan elementary school were, on the average, less than mean heights for Thai children given by Dr. Yong Chutima (1939), and they were much below mean heights at various ages from charts (class II) in use at the Department of School Hygiene, Bangkok. Mean heights of adult men and women in Bang Chan were slightly below those recorded by other observers who have measured groups of Thai men and women (Hauck, 1956). Without further study one cannot say whether the short stature of Thai as compared to Western peoples is due to inheritance, environment, or both. Nor do we know why school age children and adults in the rice producing village of Bang Chan were, on the average, somewhat shorter than their counterparts in Bangkok only 20 miles away.

Thorangkul (1957) found that although children 7 to 14 years of age increased in height in successive 3-month intervals, a large proportion of them failed to gain weight or even lost at times and that such failure to gain occurred in more children during the dry season than during the wet season. The reason for this was not apparent from our observations. Two possible explanations are: 1) use of untreated canal water may lead to heavier infestation with intestinal parasites in the dry season and 2) leafy vegetables are almost lacking, and other vegetables are in short supply at this time. One would expect the temporary shortage of vegetables to be reflected in growth failure only when the diet is borderline in respect to some nutrients as it appears to be in Bang Chan (Hauck et al., 1958; Hauck and Sudsaneh, 1959). Either of the possible causes suggested might affect the nutritional state of other family members as well as elementary school children. All those drinking canal water and eating "adult foods" could be affected directly, whereas infants who are still largely breast fed might be affected indirectly through the quantity and quality of mother's milk available to them.

In this section observations on the growth in height and weight of infants and small children in Bang Chan are presented.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

Introduction

The purpose of this study is twofold: (1) to provide a basic description of 121
the dominant personality traits of the adult members of a Central Plain Thai community; and (2) to demonstrate a procedure for dealing with many of the methodological problems, theoretical and technical, that are encountered in cross-cultural personality research. The primary data are observational materials and the responses of 111 Bang Chan villagers to a Sentence Completion Test, a so-called "projective technique."

Several considerations have prompted this work, its planning, emphases, and aims.

In 1955, when I participated in the preparation of a sociological hand- 122
book on Thailand (Sharp *et al.* 1956), I had the task of writing a descrip- 114
tion of the "social values and personality patterns of the Thai," using as sources all available materials in the English language. These sources consisted largely of the writings of travelers, businessmen, and government servants who had worked in Thailand, the comments of introspective Thai, and some preliminary ethnographic studies (R. F. Benedict 1946, Embree 1950, Sharp *et al.* 1953, deYoung 1955, Kaufman 1955, and unpublished field notes of the Cornell Thailand project). It quickly became apparent that these documents—written originally for purposes quite removed from those of psychological analysis—could provide little more than cursory impressions or intriguing clues to the psychological functioning of the Thai, and that a focused, systematic study of Thai personality was a problem for future research. The account that finally emerged from my review of the literature was hardly more than a vocabulary for describing some of the stereotyped forms of Thai social interaction: politeness, the maintenance of a stoical mien in stressful situations, the love of fun, and the like. Although worthy of note, such a lexicon obviously did not represent a thorough or intensive portrayal of Siamese personality. It was 121
with the aim of redressing this situation, therefore, that in the winter of 1956 I undertook a twenty-two-month field research project, a major portion of which is presented in this monograph. Since the research concerns

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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continually brings to the attention of the villagers urban standards and aspirations which, whenever possible, they attempt to apply to themselves. L. M. Hanks (1959b: 19) sees the operation of this characteristic acculturative mechanism in Bang Chan in terms of the villagers' "search for respectability": "A respectable cremation requires an orchestra; a respectable dwelling a tile roof; a respectable sickness an injection; and a respectable family must chaperone carefully its growing daughters. So run a host of points which help to bolster but not necessarily to advance social position."

Yet, after the relationship between village and town has been considered, Bang Chan remains very much a peasant community, whose residents are concerned first and foremost with the cultivation of rice, the maintenance of their monastery, and their own immediate social environment. Despite aspirations, many Bang Chan cremations must go without the orchestra; most dwellings lack the tile roof; injections are taken only by those who can afford them; and the necessity for boys and girls to work together during harvest time, a period of unavoidably infectious joy, precludes any rigidly imposed chaperonage. Perhaps the best assessment of the cultural position of Bang Chan was provided by the writer's field assistant—an individual born and reared in a village in the Northeast who, although in many respects worldly and urbane, maintained an almost passionate identification with his peasant background—who said: "When I first came here to Bang Chan, I never thought that people living so close to Bangkok could be *real* Thai villagers. But they are. They are not as friendly and hospitable as Northeastern peasants, and they are more interested in money, but they have a much greater love of the land. No city person could ever think and feel as they do."

Family Life and Social Organization

In terms of the traditional categories of social structural analysis, the social organization of Bang Chan is strikingly simple. There are essentially only five social units which demand, and toward which villagers express relatively enduring psychological commitments. These are the nuclear family;

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home from school, the curriculum for which is written and directed by Ministry of Education officials in the city. Approximately 14 percent of Bang Chan households have battery driven radios (there is no electricity in the village) and approximately 60 percent of the villagers can read, although considerably fewer actually have the proficiency to go comfortably through a newspaper; theoretically the same number of people can write, but few Bang Chan adults have the courage to take pencil to paper without feeling discomfort over their handwriting, spelling, and knowledge of stylistic forms. Newspapers that people bring home from town are passed around and read more for their entertainment than information; the few books that are seen in the village are pulp magazines, religious or moralistic writings, and occasionally do-it-yourself pamphlets ("How to Raise Chickens the Modern Way").

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bringing them into the world; of helping siblings because of the kind things they have done; of loving children so that they will care for them when they are old [11]—but they do condition how and when such sentiments will be expressed. It is difficult to recall any instance of a Bang Chaner being caught in a situation of which *he was aware of* a conflict between satisfying his own desires and fulfilling his obligations to kin, so it is difficult to say which sentiment would ordinarily take precedence in his own mind; but to an observer, it would seem that the former would most likely have priority. (See Hanks and Phillips 1961 for evidence in support of this point.) [12] Actually, most villagers seem eminently successful in keeping the sentiments apart, which helps to account in part for the "centripetal" forms of kinship arrangement referred to earlier. Self-interest is of course not the same as selfishness, and when circumstances and inclinations permit, Bang Chaners can become among the most generous and hospitable of people (and in no sense paradoxically). Rarely have I seen, for example, people derive so much genuine pleasure from doing favors for others. In fact, these are among the first things that one notices about them: free agents helping others—but also ignoring them—when they see fit.

[11] This phrasing here in terms of *reciprocal benefits* is in the villagers' idiom, not mine.

[12] It is not insignificant that nowhere in Thai folklore does one find a recognition of possible conflict between the motives of self-interest and family obligation or of any moral lesson to be drawn from it; that is, there are no stories of a parent sacrificing himself for his children, or of children for their parents or, for that matter, of any moral value at all in self-sacrifice. On the other hand, one does find stories of individuals in conflict over which of two self-satisfying alternatives to select. In *Khun Chang and Khun Phaen*, for example, Wan Thong, the inconstant lover, could not make up her mind between love and wealth, and eventually was slain because of her indecision, the moral being that the person who cannot make up his mind deserves nothing.

On a more realistic level, one rarely finds anyone in Bang Chan being condemned for self-interest—the mother who abandons her children or the gallivanting husband—although one very frequently does encounter sympathy for those who suffer, the sympathy being elicited by the person or the fact of suffering, not the cause. The majority of Bang Chaners generally consider the motives of the self-interested party as the person's own business. This concern with sympathy (*soysaan*) for those in difficulty, and simultaneous indifference to the source of their problem has deep roots in Buddhist doctrine and should not be glossed over.

To have compassion (*mettaa* and *karunaa*) is among the noblest of Buddhist virtues. It is at one time a kindly expression of concern with others and a recognition of—or coming to terms with—what is considered intrinsic to the human situation. "Life is suffering" is the first of Buddhism's Four Noble Truths. However, since such suffering is intrinsic, there is little to be gained by assigning blame for it. Equally important, villagers assume that a person who suffers may well have brought it upon himself. The other person, acting in his own natural self-interest, may have simply been an agent or catalyst. His motives are his own business because they will eventually contribute, for better or worse, to his own denouement. The dynamics of these attitudes are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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to choose, even if in this case it was seemingly to his own detriment—he knows what is best for himself. Even the incompetent, helpless infant is an independent soul with his own will and right of determination, and his dignity must be respected.

It must be recognized of course that in the cosmology of Bang Chan the infant is anything but a conative *tabula rasa*. When he enters the world of human beings he brings with him not only a stock of individually accumulated merit (*bun*) and demerit (*baap*) from countless previous lives which will affect his being in this one, but also a host of other forces which predetermine his character: his *khwaan* (soul-stuff), *winjaan* (psycho-biological motive power), *caj* (heart), and *nidsaj* or *ʔupanidsaj* (ingrained character), among others. (J. R. Hanks 1959 has a brilliant exposition of the role of these elements.) In a very real sense the infant enters the world of humans as a developed, or partially developed, psychological being. Human influences, particularly virtue and "good habits," can be inculcated into him, but they are ultimately limited by these pre-natally determined characteristics. Much of Bang Chan child rearing is actually a series of perpetual compromises between (a) parents surrendering to what they think are the child's predetermined traits (and while this represents an extraordinary respect for his infantile individuality, it also leads in a developmental sense to much of the solipsism to which we have been referring throughout); (b) parents trying to come to terms with, or overcome, his preordained characteristics by inculcating good habits through example, coaxing, and whipping (the three modes of socialization, in order of priority, although villagers are more prone to talk about whippings than actually give them; most are too tenderhearted, and the rare whipping is almost always the result of sudden rage); and (c) leaving the child to his own devices. The third differs from the first in that it focuses on the parent's concerns rather than the child's and indicates indifference rather than respect. Thus, in contrast to the illustration above, one constantly sees children, generally under eight years of age, "annoying" conversing adults (primarily by making noises, although not necessarily to get the latter's attention) to which the parent responds with continuous but intermittent "tsk, tsks." The adult never raises the volume of his admonition, never gets increasingly disturbed, and eventually gives up while the children continue on their merry, noise-making way. The parent's lack of genuine concern and compulsion is not lost upon the child. Although events of this type are not overly noticeable in Bang Chan—precisely because they occur in such an easygoing and unremarkable way—they do take place repeatedly, and represent one of the principal interactional themes of the parent-child relationship. Children learn quickly that although parents will go through little ritualistic forms of controlling them,

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tions are more penetrating, but in these instances he works himself into the more serious problem of interpreting overt behavior without examining the meaning that it has for those who are experiencing it. Thus, in discussing pedicab drivers' relationships with the police, he asserts that the drivers need closer police supervision because they lack strong inner controls. He argues that when they get out of control, they "go all the way," and try to get away with as much as they possibly can, particularly with regard to traffic and license regulations. Textor's *description* of the overt behavior of pedicab drivers and police is accurate, but what is not shown in his *interpretation* is that for a Thai there are, in the relations between authority figures and subordinates, several *other* considerations that take precedence over the need to observe regulations: that authority figures should be benevolent and helpful, rather than demanding; that one tries to avoid placing others, especially subordinates, in embarrassing situations; that in most interpersonal situations, Thai have an extraordinarily high tolerance for deviation from the rules, regardless of the confusion that may ensue (as the most superficial observation of Bangkok traffic would demonstrate). Textor's recommendation in fact flies in the face of these more deeply-rooted norms and expectations. Despite these various shortcomings, Textor's study is an interesting and readable commentary on some of the social psychological dimensions of culture change in Thailand.

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Together with Benedict's study, the papers by Hanks and Phillips (1961) and Phillips (1959) represent the few excursions made into the analysis, as contrasted simply with the description, of Thai personality. The article by Hanks and Phillips is a discussion of a portion of the life-history and projective test responses of a young Bang Chan man, focusing on the events leading up to his marriage, his motives for getting married, and the psychological complications that this event entailed. Emerging from the informant's account was evidence pointing to two related areas of psychic tension: (1) a conflict between the informant's desire for independence, based on the expectation of becoming master of his own household and establishment, and the necessity for him to make himself dependent on others, his social superiors, as the very means by which to achieve this end; and (2) a conflict between the desire for the security provided by these individuals and the fear of expressing his hostility toward them when they, involved with their own concerns and never completely independent themselves, are unable to fulfill his untoward demands. The informant resolved these predicaments simply by continuing his demands on others but ignoring any psychological obligations he had toward them. The behavioral implications of this resolution are summarized in the article's final paragraph (655–656):

> From this vantage point, the Thai personality stands more encapsulated, alone, and isolated than the Chinese. Thai resist strong affiliation

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114 157 156 as do rejected lovers who fear suffering again. Without strong bonds, they develop no sense of guilt for those they injure and stand ultimately responsible only to themselves, individuals among individuals who differ mainly in the amount of influence they wield. Thus Dang [the informant] can make demands of others but feels little obligation toward them. As he left his father and uncle with scarcely a second thought, so others can leave him. Of course, as was indicated by Dang's projective test data, this form of individualism is not entirely without its psychic toll. But on the level of action and conscious decision, the moral for a Thai runs: invest not thy love in a shadow.

114 156 155 866 The piece by this writer (Phillips, 1959) is essentially an amplification of some of the findings of the above paper and a confirmation, in the life histories of two other informants, of their typicality. The paper was confined to an examination of the development and expression of the needs for dependence and independence in the lives of these villagers. Three major points emerged from the analysis. First, the most common expression of dependence was in the area of subsistence and economics, in the individual's desire to attach himself to others who would give him sustenance in return for services rendered. Over and over again, the informants viewed their relationships with other people, particularly kin, in terms of the others' economic value to themselves. However, this mode of dependence was not so much an overriding compulsion as it was a basic postulate about human relationships: the measure of another person's love was explicitly [581] the degree to which in material terms he served the self. The second point, in contrast to the above, was that marriage was seen as the means by which a person could free himself from the obligations of economic dependence. This freedom has two aspects: freedom from the frustrations caused by others; and freedom to set oneself up as master of one's own household, thus reaping the psychological satisfactions—status, power, and prestige—of having others dependent on oneself. The third and perhaps most striking point concerned the fact that all these informants spent their childhoods being shuttled from one family to another. Although this experience may not have been culturally modal, it occurred with sufficient frequency to be a possibility for every Bang Chan child. It was further suggested that in [571] part such experiences taught villagers at a very early age that they had to fend for themselves, and that the experiences served as psychological prototypes for the sense of fragility of social relationships that is so characteristic of village life.

114 124 In contrast to most of the literature cited above, the last two articles are based on data which are products of interviews heavily weighted toward the psychologically expressive. Two of the informants admitted that they told us things that they had never shared with anyone, and the agitation (a

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non-histrionic agitation) [5] with which they reported some of their experiences suggested that this was indeed the case. I mention these considerations because the kind of material to come out of the interviews was perhaps not what one would expect from typically affable, easygoing Thai peasants. However, it must be recognized that the material focused only on the private sector of their lives, and indeed a very narrow area of this sector. Thus, although the articles may have been more analytic than previous efforts, they were also considerably more limited in scope.

I have attempted above to describe and evaluate almost all the available literature on Thai personality. There are a few additional sources which might be cited (Ratanakorn 1955, Boesch 1956, Mosel 1957), but their major concerns seem so tangential to our present purposes that it would add little to discuss them. By way of summary, the following points should be noted. The Thai language psychological literature is for the most part an unself-conscious, non-analytic folk literature, and as such is a rich source of data rather than a source of ideas on Thai personality. Illustrations of the value of the literature as data were provided in the text. However, since these data are primarily the product of an urban literati it is difficult to determine precisely to what extent they are also descriptive of peasants, although many of the traits reported seem apposite. There are no psychologically oriented Thai language essays dealing exclusively with villagers. The English language literature tends to be more analytic and broad-ranging in its concerns. Excluding Tirabutana's autobiography, these efforts seem to fall into one of three categories: (1) itemizations of manifest traits with little attention given to the psychodynamics involved (Thai psychologist, Phillips in Cornell Thailand Handbook, Textor); (2) sensitive psychological reflections on incomplete or specialized ethnographic data (R. F. Benedict, leMay); and (3) analyses of a limited set of private psychological issues from a few informants. (Hanks and Phillips, Phillips).

Psychological Dimensions of Village Interaction

Most personality portrayals proceed either by discussing how people behave in terms of a specific set of analytic issues, such as aggression,

[5] This is important simply because when opportunity permits—and the life-history situation is clearly such an opportunity—villagers love to tell a good story: full of histrionics, feigned exaggerations, and emotional flourishes. However, our informants were not given to theatrics during the interviews; on the contrary, they tended to tell their stories with an almost poignant seriousness. The fact that we were the first people ever to take such a direct, personal interest in them as individuals played a crucial role here. Being asked to reveal for the first time how they felt about their early lives, their families, and themselves was cause not only for pride but trust, and they often used the interviews as a way of unburdening themselves.

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571 as a release mechanism from boredom or tension (Riesman and Bloomberg
154 1957, Roy 1959–1960), as a "healthy" escape from reality (Flugel 1954,
52 Bateson 1954), or as a normal and desirable regression to childhood pleasures (Freud 1905 and 1928). Running through all these observations is the obvious Western bias that play somehow is divorced from, or a reaction to, the harsh facts of social reality.[9] On reflection, however, it is clear there is no theoretical necessity, either maturational or social psychological, for play to be limited to cathartic functions, or for regarding it as a less realistic or less mature psychological state than that which causes boredom, tension, escape, or regression. In fact, one might logically argue that the conditions which create the latter states are less realistic and immature because they represent retreats to forms of infantile masochism. Such questions of course belong to the realm of interpretive debate. The essential point is that in the process of learning to adapt to the social psychological realities of one's culture there is no inherent, ontogenetic requirement (other than that imposed by the peculiarities of one's culture) for human beings to renounce their motivations for play. Simply stated, having fun need not be so much a retreat from or defense against adult reality and responsibility as it is something to be sought after for its own sake.

121 The fundamental analytic issue here may well be whether play is a
154 psychobiological "given" of the human animal, on the same order as
52 hunger, sex, and other precultural needs, or a learned, secondary cultural

[9] Of these various interpretations, the most broadly conceived and carefully argued is Freud's, where play activities are linked theoretically to the interrelationships of the id, ego, and superego and the aims of the "pleasure principle." However, even here Freud was caught up in the Western cultural bias that only children, those who have not yet had to come fully to terms with social reality, could easily "afford" the luxury of play. This same cultural bias often appears at a totally different interpretive level in the rather crass pronouncements of journalists and travelers who, in writing about the Thai, refer to the "child-like" behavior of these people who spend so much time, energy, and money in having fun.

[114]

Radcliffe-Brown's famous essay on the "joking relationship" (1952) is of course a special sociological case of the "tension release" function of play. In a brief paper, Keesing (1960) lists some seven overlapping functions of play, but here too play is seen largely as divorced from "everyday 'reality' activities." Callois (1958) brings together valuable cross-cultural data in what is otherwise a classification of organized games.

Probably the most comprehensive study of play ever written is *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (1938; English translation 1950) by the late cultural historian, Johan Huizinga. Although Huizinga is concerned mainly with structured play activities (games of skill, chance, guessing games) and with the relationships between play and ceremonials, one of his observations is worth noting: "Nature, so our reasoning mind tells us, could just as easily given her children all those useful functions of discharging superabundant energy, of relaxing after exertion, of training for the demands of life, of compensating for unfulfilled longings, etc., in the form of purely mechanical exercises and reactions. But no, she gave us play, with its tension, its mirth, and its fun. Now this last element, the *fun* of playing, resists all analysis, all logical interpretation. As a concept, it cannot be reduced to any other mental category. . . ."

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521 The sociological context of a story-telling is probably what is most
522 important here. Bang Chan is a community where other than cultivating
538 the single rice crop and attending to daily household chores and religious activities, the villagers realistically have little else to do but talk to each other. This is clearly not an inevitable attribute of the peasant condition, but it is true of Bang Chan where little attention is given to such creative leisure activities as craftsmanship, music, and art, and where there is little occupational specialization. In fact, probably more time is given to gossiping than to any other single waking activity except daydreaming. Bang Chaners talk of many things, serious as well as lighthearted: the price of rice, religion, gambling, the doings of "big people," family disputes, and the like. However, by far one of the largest segments of their total conversational repertoire is given over to "funny" stories. Of course, no story is ever *exclusively* humorous in nature; all communication is inherently multidimensional, and even the funniest story has a substantive, non-humorous message. However, if stories may be judged by their behavioral effects (laughter) irrespective of their intellectual content, then the function of a major part of Bang Chan gossip is amusement.[10]

538 The motivations for the selection of banana peel type stories are more
154 complex. In part, the choice seems prompted by a "there but for the grace of God go I . . . " mentality. As suggested earlier, Bang Chaners have a keenly developed sense of the possible: to them, this is a world where anything, not only the probable or the predictable, can happen. The banana peel story, with its emphasis on the painfully ludicrous and extreme, is a perfect representation of such an uncertain world. Its beauty is

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[123] [10] During the early stage of field work, I attempted to do systematic naturalistic observations of these gossip groups. The purpose was simply to identify the kinds of
[114] topics uppermost in the villagers' minds and the modes of interaction that most frequently developed during the sessions; it was hoped that the latter information might
[126] be related to the psychological test materials of the discussants. As a precisely designed and executed project, the effort, however, was dropped after a short time. For one thing, it was too difficult for two observers to record the *simultaneous* verbal and kinesthetic interaction of *several* people without the aid of a self-powered tape recorder and with the added burden of having to strain the material through the translation process. The task was further complicated by the fact that the membership of these groups continually changed as people would leave and enter the conversations. Also the groups would often break down into smaller sub-groups. Most important was the sheer multidimensionality of the conversation: any one utterance could simultaneously be funny, aggressive, boastful, carry practical information, etc. However, enough information was culled from these early attempts and later less ambitious ones to prompt the statements presented here. It is this writer's observation that one of the reasons behind the success of so much of the "small group" research conducted in the United States is that the groups studied have been *problem solving* or *task-oriented*, rather than simple gossip groups. The highly functional nature of the former has provided built-in constraints on the freedom of action permitted the discussants, and has made observational problems comparatively easier to deal with.

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given were equally oblique. Although I never really overcame my feeling of helplessness in dealing with such situations, I did manage over a period of time to communicate to those in my employ the appropriateness (at least regarding our own particular relationship) of giving me fair warning, *e.g.*, "Europeans are different in this way."

Again, there is nothing extraordinary or unique about personal desires and inclinations intruding on the stability of an interpersonal relationship. However, what is unique to Bang Chan and Thai culture in general is the frequency of such intrusions, the extent to which they take precedence over the responsibilities of the established relationship, and perhaps most important, their general expectability. No Bang Chaner is ever taken aback when another does not fulfill his assumptions about how that other will behave. Note that these intrusions may have little effect on the face-to-face contacts existing between people. My assistant's declaration that he was going to the movies was presented in a most affable way and in the other examples cited, where people were left in the lurch, there need not have been any contact whatsoever between the parties involved.

Reference was made to these modes of relationship in the section on Bang Chan social organization and kinship. However, they received their first formal, and perhaps most elegant, formulation in a now famous article entitled "Thailand—A Loosely Structured Social System," by the late John F. Embree (1950). Embree's application of the notion of "loose structure" was mainly descriptive rather than analytic; it was used to summarize a wide variety of empirical materials. Thus (182): "The first characteristic of Thai culture to strike an observer from the West, or from Japan or Vietnam is the individualistic behavior of the people. The longer one resides in Thailand the more one is struck by the almost determined lack of regularity, discipline, and regimentation in Thai life. In contrast to Japan, Thailand lacks neatness and discipline; in contrast to Americans, the Thai lack respect for administrative regularity and have no industrial time sense." After providing an extensive series of examples—on the lack of binding filial piety, on the tendency to permit a thief to steal from a neighbor's house without raising an alarm or attempting to stop him, on the capacity to delay and double-talk those with whom one has business dealings, Embree concludes (184): "The point here once more is that . . . while obligations are recognized, they are not allowed to burden one unduly. Such as are sanctioned are observed freely by the individual—he acts of his own will, not as a result of social pressure."

While Embree's formulation is by definition phrased in social structural terms, it inevitably directs our attention to an underlying motivational issue: the nature of the villagers' dispositions to conformity. Conformity to the expectations of others—whether such expectations are shared, comple-

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mentary, or emergent—is of course a basic requisite of all effective[19] social action. It is perfectly clear, as was demonstrated in the earlier discussion, that Bang Chaners are highly motivated to conform while in the direct presence of others. Often there is over-conformity when in such situations villagers become overly solicitous to what they think are the needs of others. However, the hallmark of Thai social relations is that there never is any certainty that such face-to-face contacts will take place, or if they do take place, that the conformity which exists during the direct encounter will be sustained once the contact has ended. The overriding inclination of the Bang Chaner is to separate the encounter itself from that which precedes or follows it; psychologically, they are independent and unrelated experiences. The typical Bang Chaner excels at the art of indicating agreement with people—responsiveness, coöperativeness, and compliance with their verbal requests and orders—and then once the situation has been concluded, doing precisely what he wants, often the exact opposite of that to which he had agreed.[20]

Ordinarily, this is not intended as a form of duplicity. Villagers are quite sincere (and probably correct) when they say: "People are much happier when you agree with them and tell them what they want to hear." Too, the behavior is explained in part by the fact that most villagers feel they can change their plans and intentions with impunity at the slightest provocation. Unfortunately, the other persons involved may not be informed of the change until it actually occurs. A Bang Chan employee who

[19] The term "effective" is inserted here to acknowledge that social action is just as likely to be characterized by ambiguity, confusion, and misunderstanding—the absence of clear expectations—and that in some cases (for example, greeting rituals) it is oriented mainly to *discovering* patterns of expectations. Further, insofar as such action occurs through time, it is never completely free of a minimum of both ambiguity and certainty: the ambiguity of not being able to anticipate what might next occur; the certainty of knowing that what does emerge has *some* relationship to what has gone before.

[20] Bang Chan and Thai culture in general evidently are not the only places in Southeast Asia where one finds these modes of response. Addressing himself to a rather different issue, Geertz (1956: 155), writing about the social attitudes of Javanese peasants, notes: "Now, as in the past, the central government and the *prijaji* [aristocratic, learned, upper class] outlook which justifies it sits unessily in the general social context of Javanese peasant society, with much less actual control over the behavior of the villager than it would seem at first glance to have. Without the intricate ties between the rural and urban gentry one finds, for example, in China, or without the deeply rooted clearly defined, land-rights-linked social code of reciprocal obligations of feudal Europe, the *prijaji* has always found outward submission, exaggerated respect, and placating excuses easier to obtain from the *abangan* [traditionally oriented peasants] than actual obedience." This passage, of course, was concerned with the nature of the Javanese authority system rather then with more generalized patterns of interpersonal response. Whether Javanese respond in the same way to fellow villagers and to other social equals is unclear. However, the stylistic similarities between Thai and Javanese peasants are striking.

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Chan. However, there remains the crucial question of how villagers manage to develop the long-term relationships that they do have, for despite the inevitable unpredictability of all human contacts, most Bang Chaners do live together in family units for more or less sustained periods of time, fathers do save for years in order to give their sons respectable ordinations into the monkhood, relatives and friends who have not seen each other since childhood do assemble for the cremation of a late kinsman or mutual friend, and mature adults do continue to feel a profound sense of respect and obligation to individuals who were their teachers when they were youngsters. What are the bases and rewards for these enduring interpersonal commitments?

The immediate rewards for these commitments are, on the one hand, quite apparent. They involve such things as the simple, unrationalized kind of love found among any group of kin or close friends. In the case of the ordination and cremation, there is the reward of making merit, not only for the son and the departed soul, but for all those who sponsor and participate in the ceremonials. The satisfactions gained from increasing one's social prestige by putting on an ostentatious ceremonial are not to be overlooked either. At a more subtle level in the case of the respectful student, the reward is gained from knowing that one is behaving in a proper and courteous way toward one's *aacaan* (in its social psychological connotations, similar to the Indian term *guru*) and is thus upholding established normative patterns. The rewards of maintaining the rituals of the moral order are not to be glossed over for Bang Chaners, like most Siamese, are a deeply ethical people. This is not meant as an evaluation of their behavior or as a statement of their capacity to conform to their ethical prescriptions, but simply as a statement of their preoccupation with ethical concerns. The rewards of *feeling* (genuinely or self-deceptively) that one has behaved in an ethically and ritualistically prescribed way are among the most satisfying of sentiments, although as indicated in the discussion of "social cosmetics," villagers often use the rituals of ethical behavior as substitutes for more demanding interpersonal involvements. Indeed, the great emphasis given to the performance of ethical rituals (speaking in soft and gentle words, honoring one's mentors) helps perpetuate the loosely structured relationships found in the community in that conformity to these rituals is perceived by many as comprising the fulfillment of their interpersonal obligations. Beyond this they are free to pursue their own interests. To a large extent the ritualistic forms serve as a comforting psychological justification for the pursuit of individualistic concerns, *i.e.*, "But I otherwise treat others so nicely." [20] This is not the result of conscious

[20] In one of his more recent and typically penetrating works, Goffman (1963) coins the terms "Involvement Shields," "Main Involvements," and "Subordinate

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*156 psychological manipulation. The frequency with which villagers evaluate themselves and others in terms of the performance of these rituals and the high frequency of rituals in actual behavior attests to the seriousness which Bang Chaners attach to them. Their compensatory nature in no way [181] detracts from their importance to the individual. In fact, the precise opposite seems to be the case. Bang Chaners are a highly ethical people irrespective of the social psychological functions such ethics may serve.

Less apparent than the above immediate rewards for fulfilling interpersonal commitments but perhaps the very factor that is common to most of them is the sense of reciprocity that is at the basis of all enduring relationships in Bang Chan. Reference was made to the *quid pro quo* nature of Thai social relationships at several points in the text. However, the importance of this consideration cannot be fully appreciated without realizing that the functioning of the entire Thai social system is ultimately dependent on it. Individuals become involved with others and do things for them because they consciously expect others to respond in kind. This applies to the relationships existing between family members who live together *because* such an arrangement is most advantageous to each; to the father who gives his son an ordination *in order that* the latter will make merit for him and feel obligated to care for him when he becomes old; to the friends and relatives who make merit for the departed soul *because* of the good things he had done for them during his lifetime; to the adults who feel obligated to their childhood teacher *because* of the knowledge, and thus power, he [114] imparted to them. It might well be, as Mauss (1954 [originally

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[114] [121] Involvements" to describe in theoretical terms what has been analyzed here empirically. The major point of Goffman's concepts, and of his entire book, is that human behavior is typically polyphasic (people act one way and simultaneously think or feel another); that there are types and degrees of involvement with people, situation and self; that situational behavior typically entails patterns of "deception" as ways of implementing disinvolvement (or, as he says, as ways "to conceal improper involvement and to affect appropriate involvement"); and most important that such patterns of "deception" are culturally—and not as heretofore assumed, idiosyncratically—phrased. His definition of "Involvement Shields" (p. 41) is particularly apposite to the discussion above: ". . . we think of involvement shields as one means by which the individual can maintain the impression of proper involvement while he is actually delinquent in his situational obligations."

Dealing mostly with American culture, Goffman does not of course analyze ethical rituals as a particular kind of "Involvement Shield." Americans favor other, more culturally distinctive patterns of deception. Also, he uses the term "involvement" in the same way that I have been using the term "commitment." Unfortunately, neither Goffman nor I say very much about the conditions, cultural or psychological, which determine whether a person is fully ("properly and appropriately") involved or committed in any particular situation or is simply shielding himself. However, I would argue on theoretical grounds that the *decision* is almost always idiosyncratic, the *actual behavior* almost always cultural.

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1923–1924], translated by Cunnison) and Homans (1961) have argued, that human relationships everywhere are based on just such a consideration, usually concealed by ethically palatable amenities (such as in American culture, from which most of Homans' empirical materials come). However, what is so intriguing about the Thai case is that *quid pro quo* factors are forever in mind as justifications and explanations of why people relate to one another. Although villagers, because they are such polite people, rarely say to others, "I am helping you because I know the day will come when I need your help," or "Do this for me because you owe me a favor," they do use such arguments *to explain* the basis of their ties: "Of all my friends I love Lek the most because she has done me the most favors (*bunkhuns*)"; "The purpose of marriage is to have a companion who will take care of you when you get sick"; "Of all my daughters, the one who gives me the greatest pleasure is the one who sells things. . . . When she gets money she gives it to me"; "Friends are very useful because it means that you have people who will do you favors. And when they need help, you will take care of them. This is love." [21]

One of the finest discussions of the nature of reciprocal obligations appears in a recent paper by George M. Foster (1961) that deals not with a Thai community, but with the Mexican village of Tzintzuntzan. Foster outlines in his paper the notion of the "dyadic contract" which he presents as a model for the social structure of Tzintzuntzan. Or, more precisely: "Specifically, I suggest a model . . . to reconcile the institutionalized roles which can be recognized and described in the community with the underlying principle which gives the social system coherence." Foster's focus thus differs somewhat from our psychological emphasis. However, his abstract statement of the "dyadic contract" provides such an excellent summation of the major factor making for enduring social relationships in Bang Chan that it merits quoting in detail here. There are of course inevitable differences in cultural content between the two communities and the fact that

[21] Such explanations are not unique to Bang Chan. In his description of the Thai-Lue village of Ban Phaed in Northern Thailand, Moerman (1962) observes: "The society of Ban Phaed operates in terms of something got for every something given. This is not merely an analytic device which permits a predictive, if crass, view of any human society. It is the way in which villagers explain and evaluate their own behavior. Favor for favor, visit for visit, meal for meal, one should return what he receives. 'We help our kinsmen because they help us. If a kinsman however close didn't help me, I wouldn't help him.' 'We care for our children when they are young; they will care for us when we are old.' Actions which we would justify in terms of compassion, generosity, public-spirit, patriotism, pride in a job well done, the Lue villager speaks of in terms of reciprocal, short-term self-interest. Their actions are no more selfish than ours. Far from it. But the moral rhetoric of a Lue villager is different from our own. In politics, economics, family life, and religion it focuses on something got for something given."

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status differences and the looseness of social ties loom considerably in Bang Chan probably makes for some other structural variations.[22] However, as stated below, Foster's formulation applies almost perfectly to Bang Chan (1173-1176):

> The model appears to account for the nature of interaction between people of the same socio-economic status, between people of different statuses, between fellow villagers, between villagers and outsiders, and perhaps between man and supernatural beings as well. Although my analysis deals only with Tzintzuntzan, I think the model will prove useful for other societies with similar structural features . . .
>
> Briefly it is hypothesized that every adult organizes his social contacts . . . by means of a special form of contractual relationship. These contracts are informal, or implicit, since they lack ritual or legal basis. [This is not completely true for Bang Chan. There is, for example, a special "Teachers' Day," sanctioned by the national government, set aside for honoring teachers, and thus providing ritualistic reinforcement to the contract.] They are not based on any idea of law, and they are unenforceable through authority; *they exist only at the pleasure of the contractants.* The contracts are dyadic in that they occur only between two people; three or more individuals are not brought together. The contracts are noncorporate, since social units such as villages, *barrios*, or extended families cannot truly be said to enter contractual relations with other families, although spouses often honor the obligations inherent in each other's contracts.
>
> The implicit dyadic contract is made between members of a family as close as siblings [and in Bang Chan, as close as husband and wife, and parents and children] . . . ; and it unites neighbors and friends. Contracts are found between social and economic equals within Tzintzuntzan or with similar people in other communities. And they are found between people (or beings) of different status and category, as on those few occasions when outside political leaders or economic patrons have ties with villagers and when a villager invokes the aid of the Virgin Mary or a saint. [In Bang Chan, a functional equivalent of the latter would be when villagers propitiate the *caw*, or Spirit Lord, who resides in the *Sam Phra Phoum*, or house of the Guardian Spirit of the home. This is a replica of a house, about the size of a bird cage, located in every house lot in Bang Chan. The offering of rice and flowers to the *caw* is explicitly a form of payment to him for the use

[22] A second paper on Tzintzuntzan (Foster 1963) indicates that there are some crucial motivational differences as well, viz., Bang Chaners enter into dyadic contracts with a much greater sense of freedom than do Tzintzuntzeños. Their attitude is both more cavalier and cold-blooded than the Mexican peasant who feels that if he is to exist, he has no choice but to enter into these contracts. The Bang Chaner is animated by a sense of personal advantage; the Tzintzuntzeño by a sense of passive participation in a system he cannot change.

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of the land upon which the human home is built. In effect, humans have temporarily "rented" the land from him.]

. . . [The] contract implies and is validated by reciprocal obligations . . . [In] its totality the system of complementary reciprocity validates, maintains, and gives substance to the implicit contractual networks. The symbolic meaning of exchanges (as contrasted to economic and other functions) is accepted without question by all villagers: as long as a person continues to give to and receive from a partner, he is assured that the particular relationship is in good order. *When an exchange pattern between two people terminates, it is overt evidence to both that the contract is dead*, regardless of the formal institutional ties or the religious validation which may, in theory, continue to bind the participants. [Italics added.]

In anthropological analysis it is customary first to seek and attempt to identify the factors which link human beings together rather than those which keep them apart. This is so much a part of our professional tradition—in effect, one of our "primitive predicates"—that we tend to gloss over the question of the extent to which people must have enduring interpersonal commitments. This question has not been pursued in precise detail in our discussion. However, the realities of Bang Chan social behavior are so weighted in the direction of atomistic and essentially non-relational considerations that any coherent discussion of them should be organized in approximately equivalent terms. It is for this reason that the bulk of our presentation has focused on the individualistic nature of the villagers and that the factors accounting for interpersonal linkage were left to the end. It is hoped that such an organization has accurately reflected the tone and quality of Bang Chan social life as it is encountered and felt by an outside observer trying to understand its meaning to those who experience it.

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123 a "serious-minded teacher" generally worked to the advantage or disadvan-
124 tage of the research, I would definitely answer, "the former."

• 114 Perhaps even more important than the villagers' attitudes toward the author were their attitudes toward the Thai field assistants who worked with me at various times. It was through the field assistant that many villagers had their actual contact with the research and through him (or her) that I obtained a large part of my data.[1] Because the role of field assistant requires such distinctive qualities—"competence" in a foreign language, willingness to work with peasants and an appreciation of them, a desire to learn the way "other people" live—it was not easy to obtain or retain individuals to work with in Bang Chan. In a country such as Thailand where the term "social science" was virtually unknown until a few years ago, the position of "research assistant" simply offers no occupational future. Consequently, I had six different assistants working for me at different times during almost two years in the field. Two of these individuals were with me for less than three weeks. (One left the rice fields of Bang Chan for a position at the Thai Embassy in Rome; the other just did not like peasants.) Two were extremely able female graduate students in Education who worked only on Sundays and holidays, primarily with the younger village women. Out of both loyalty to me and a genuine interest in, almost love for, the villagers, they stayed on until the research was completed. The fifth, my major assistant, took three months to find, but he remained with me for fourteen months. When he left to work in Burma ("because I have never been to Burma") his place was taken by a very competent and sophisticated assistant district officer whom I "borrowed" from the Ministry of Interior. This last chap saw me through the life histories. Although he was excellent in the highly personalized setting of the life history interviews, his polished urban manner would have been too overbearing for the majority of informants during the earlier, more sensitive stages of the research. While this coming and going of field assistants,

12 [1] During the early stages of field work I was completely dependent on my assistant-
114 translators, despite six months language training prior to leaving for the field. Later, I gained enough control over Thai to participate actively in the interviews. In order to minimize translation errors, however, it was decided to conduct and record all formal interviews (those involving the Sentence Completion Method, TAT, and life histories) completely in Thai, and translate later. The reasons for this are more fully discussed below. In effect, this meant training the assistant to carry the burden of the Sentence Completion interviews, the first large block of the research. By the time we reached the life histories, the interviews were taking the form of the informant replying directly to both myself and the assistant. All formal interviews were based on carefully prepared schedules, including even such matters as instructing on seating arrangements. Only a portion of the total data of course came from these formal interviews. All the preceding materials, for example, were based directly on my own observations, or on the small but crucial verbal events that occurred outside the interviews and which actually comprised the interactive substance of day-to-day life.

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particularly that of the one who went to Burma, had considerable effect on me and on the continuity of the research, it appeared to affect the villagers not at all. In their less predictable world, such movement was quite customary.

Because three of the assistants were with me for substantial periods of time, a few words should be said about them as individuals and their role in the community.

My principal assistant was an individual whose own life history, although not unusual for Thailand, describes one of the most important and least known psychological types emerging in the newly developing countries of the world today. Born and reared in a Northeastern village, he came to Bangkok in his bare feet at the age of sixteen to fulfill a childhood dream of becoming a newspaperman. (He once said to me that "if the first *farang* who came to Thailand in the sixteenth century had wanted to study a village, they would have had to pick a village just like the one in which I was born.") After working on a road construction gang during the day and going to school at night, he accumulated enough money to support himself and to enter Thammasart University. While working as a newspaperman, he became ill, had to leave Bangkok, and took a job as a forest ranger in the North, which gave him considerable free time for writing. It was while he was in the North that I heard about him, and asked him to come down and work with me. While working in Bang Chan, he was able to reëstablish some of his old Bangkok ties so that after my departure, he and a wealthier associate established a publishing company, one purpose of which was to have an outlet for their own writings. He has since published a volume of short stories, and has undertaken with his colleague and others a field survey of Thai peasant oral literature. His ultimate aspiration at the time was to start the first newspaper in the Northeast, one addressed especially to the interests of Northeastern peasants. When we first met he had just turned twenty-five.

Despite his worldly experience, his primary reference remains that of a peasant, albeit a well-educated one. I have seen him discussing the beauty of a field of fresh growing rice with a group of Bang Chaners exactly as if he were one of them. Similarly, his spontaneous use of peasant idioms, fictive kin terms, and body gestures were indistinguishable from those of almost any Bang Chaner. He "knew" precisely when to take a villager by the hand or to place his own hand upon the villager's leg as a sign of affection. Even his wisecracks to the girls were perfectly delivered: cute enough to raise a titter but never broad enough to be considered offensive. Although some of these actions were prompted by his desire to get on good terms with the villagers, most of them were quite spontaneous.

None of this of course was lost on a people as socially perceptive as the

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villagers of Bang Chan. Although in their eyes he probably never ceased being identified in some ways with the *farang*, he was defined primarily as "one of us." He helped reinforce this definition by referring to himself and the villagers as "we Thai" or "we Thai farmers," as contrasted with the *farang*. Often, not out of any enmity but simply because he had a ready foil, he would make fun of my *farang* ways for the benefit of the villagers. It was conduct like this, repeatedly expressed, that permitted him later to ask the villagers their opinions of the *farang* without raising any eyebrows. On the other hand, when the need arose, he readily assumed the role of the gentle, guiding, probing representative of the research who, in his efforts to get the villagers to participate, would appeal to everything from pride in country ("Don't you want the *farang* to know the true way we Thai people think") to the principle of reciprocity ("We do a favor for *Aacaan* Herb by helping him pass his examination, and he helps us by bringing us fame").

The two female graduate students who worked part-time were not as distinctive as their male counterpart, but in their own way, were equally as effective in the research. One was the daughter of a high-ranking Army Officer School teacher; the other was the daughter of a low-level bureaucrat. In their early twenties, they had been closest friends during college and graduate studies. To a certain extent, they were prototypes of the upper-middle-class, college educated Thai female.[1] Confident about their professional abilities and aware of how much they are needed, they are caught in the conflict of whether to participate in "worldly affairs" and thus become independent and admired social leaders, or to become wives and mothers, and thus live in the shadows of their husbands. Their problem, unlike the case in the United States, is that both alternatives are equally valued and equally available and that because the social need is so great, they can actually become leaders with not too much effort. The conflict is further aggravated by the fact that they come from the social class that emphasizes a double sexual standard. At the same time as they are expected to be assertive and competent in their jobs, they are also expected to be sweet, docile, and compliant females. They resolve this conflict to a large

[1] The daughter of the lower-level bureaucrat had this status by virtue of her own accomplishment, not her father's. In fact, one of the most touching scenes I ever observed in Thailand was when the girl's entire family assembled at Don Muang Airport to see her off to the United States where she had won a graduate fellowship. She had become the hope and pride of her family. Her mother, in the traditional cropped hair style of the Thai female and her mouth stained with betel juice, was trying to stand on the pair of oversized high heels that she had bought especially for the occasion. Tears were flowing down her eyes, both in pride over her daughter and because she could hardly walk on her first pair of "modern" shoes. My male assistant, in his inimitable way, turned to me and whispered: "Khun Maeae [the honored mother] wants to be just like her successful daughter."

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extent by becoming succoring females—taking care of the less fortunate, seeking opportunities where they can help others, and the like.

The relevance of these remarks to the work of the assistants in Bang Chan is that they represent the attitudes the girls brought into play in their relationships with the villagers. In the eyes of Bang Chaners, they were well-educated, high status city girls who combined the finest qualities of the Thai woman. They were not only clever because they carried clipboards and spoke two languages but they were "good" girls who used "sweet words" and proper terms of address and "brought us medicine when we were ill. They knew how to help farmers." In contrast to my own practice—which was to give villagers aspirin only if they explicitly asked for help, or if the problem was more serious to plead incompetence—their actions were entirely spontaneous. In the same way, villagers would often wonder why after working all week at the university, these girls would spend their Sundays and holidays in Bang Chan. The answer was not hard for them to find: "These girls have much progress. They want to help the nation and themselves. So they come here and work for *Aacaan* Herb. This will help them go to America. And then they will have more progress." Although this motive may have entered into the assistants' decisions, a more important reason was the simple pleasure they derived from listening to villagers bare their problems and preoccupations. By giving of their time and interest they were fulfilling their own best image of themselves.

A final word should be said about the various relationships existing among the assistants and myself. The relationships that developed among the assistants themselves was perhaps the ideal Thai adjustment to the unique situation in which these three young, unmarried people found themselves: they began to treat each other like brothers and sisters. Theirs was not a perfect sibling relationship—not even in the fictive sense, for they were keenly aware of their differences in background and of the desirability of keeping romantic considerations out of the relationship. However, their very differences in background helped form a bond of mutual respect.

Their attitudes toward the author were more complicated. Although in many ways they treated me too as a sibling, their attitudes were forever colored by the fact that I was a *farang*. On the positive side, this meant that they respected me for my technical training and knowledge, and for my obvious concern about learning as much as I could about the villagers. By the same token, however, they would frequently become annoyed by my inability to see things which in Thai terms were obvious, or by my insistence on probing matters that in their terms were either unanswerable or better left unexamined. Their attitudes toward me were not too different

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114 123 from those of the villagers, except that because our relationship was considerably more sustained and intellectually stimulating (they wanted to know about the village almost as much as I did), it was more intimate and unguarded. My closest friend in Thailand was not a villager but my male field assistant.

114 *Investigator's Attitudes Toward the Villagers*

121 Anthropological field work has been referred to variously as "a period of stepped-up socialization," "the ultimate test of the value and limitations of empathy," and more simply "the most rewarding part of the anthropological endeavor." It is all these things. However, perhaps its most distinctive characteristic is that it is a period of intensified self-control. It involves the willingness to suspend one's normal and familiar patterns of behavior in deference to patterns which are appropriate to the culture being studied, or at least not too incongruent, and which are aimed at one's overriding purpose in being there: to obtain data.[8] The rewards of field work are of course immediately apparent: to encounter directly a different arrangement of the human experience. But field work also involves the psychological price of being temporarily willing not "to be oneself." There are of course numerous instances within one's own culture when one does not behave like "oneself," but simply assumes the pose associated with one's role. What is distinctive of field work is the highly *sustained* quality of one's "acting"; the researcher must be *continuously* concerned with tailoring his actions to suit others' preferences. The problem is complicated further by the fact that in field work the preferences of others are usually only slightly known; in fact, the discovery of such preferences is part and parcel of the very process of field work. Thus, the researcher tends to be even more hesitant and concerned with keeping himself under rein. It should be noted that "not being oneself" is not identical with "not being true to oneself." Indeed, the ideal adaptation to the psychic requirements of the field situation may be to feel any way one wants to *feel* toward one's informants, but to be sure to *act* properly toward them.

123 My overt behavior toward the villagers involved assuming something of a social pose, but a relatively straightforward and simple one. I attempted to present myself as an interested, uncritical, and mildly bewildered young

[8] I am not speaking here simply of functioning comfortably in an alien culture. Cultures differ radically in the degree of conformity to or deviance from prevailing patterns that is permitted individuals; and in this respect, Thai culture is extraordinarily tolerant of personal deviance. However, this is not the same as living in a foreign culture when one's *raison d'être* is to induce members of that culture to cooperate, provide information, and otherwise function. Here it is incumbent upon the outsider to make some adjustments in his normal behavioral responses.

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man who wanted their help for the sake of "knowledge." I came to Thailand because a very wealthy American who manufactured automobiles (The Ford Foundation) had decided to make merit by giving money to universities as well as to monasteries and hospitals; I had applied for a fellowship, and he had given me the money.[4]

In my actual contacts with villagers, I tended to be much more docile and unassertive than is my wont, often to the extent of appearing diffident. Although in the relationships with my assistants I did not hesitate to express my opinions and evaluations of things—often in an excitable and seemingly aggressive way, which is one of my "natural" and extremely non-Thai modes of expression—I tried to keep my comments to villagers free of any evaluation. The only time I really let myself go was in laughter, which villagers liked but which they sometimes thought was undignified. To the countless little frustrations that occur in the field—spending an hour with an informant "making rapport" only to be told that he was too tired to take the TAT; seeing an informant get up at the high point of an interview, say "I must go," and simply leave—I responded either with giggling or stoicism, never anger. This latter posture was particularly difficult to maintain. When the owner of the "Cornell Office" asked me for three times the agreed upon cost of rent and board, I answered first by giggling and then by changing the subject, although neither was in any way representative of my genuine feelings. I later paid the original amount through a go-between, and nothing further was said.

Not all my behavior was oriented toward controlling such feelings, and not all of it was by any means intended as a disguise. In fact, the role of being an "interested, uncritical, and mildly bewildered young man" was not only the best way to present myself to the villagers from the point of view of effective research, but was often the way I felt. (The bewilderment was effective to the extent that it often elicited clarifications and specifications from informants who wanted to be sure I understood.) Similarly, my expressions of laughter were quite consistent with village patterns, and they could not easily be feigned. Perhaps one of the most enjoyable aspects of the pose was when I provided villagers with accurate and truthful answers to questions they might ask, but in an idiom that I thought would be most meaningful to them, *e.g.*, Henry Ford's merit-making activities.

[4] The source of my funds was of never-ending interest to the villagers. One Bang Chaner said he understood what the source of my funds was, but did not quite understand how I actually obtained them. "How does the money get into your wallet?" I explained that prior to my departure from the United States, I made arrangements with my benefactor's secretary to have the money deposited in a bank in Bangkok. And whenever I needed money, I would write a check and obtain the baht equivalent of the amount I had written. At this explanation, the villager broke out into a broad smile and said: "That's wonderful. It sounds just like Communism!"

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least in a half-sentence, "*He feels frustrated when. . . .*" This item, along with three others, was eventually rejected. 125

Before the items were finalized, they were all reviewed by an American linguist thoroughly conversant in Thai. Despite all our previous efforts, he suggested lexical changes in approximately thirty items and pointed out a basic but easily remedied grammatical flaw (with semantic implications) which ran through almost the entire test.

For the more time-consuming task of translating the villagers' protocols back into English, I managed to obtain the services of two urban Thai translators, both graduates of British universities. The only contact these translators had with informants was through the SCT responses. The theory and method of the test was explained to them as was a list of twenty instructions which were to be used as translation guides. (These are described in Phillips 1959–1960.) After each test was translated (the translator working independently of his colleague and the author), it was checked by me for ambiguities, multiple meanings, and statements that simply did not make sense. These questionable items, which averaged approximately one-third of each test, were then analyzed and discussed by the author and a third person and when necessary, changed or qualified. Thus, responses that were originally translated as "*Most high government officials are . . .* kind people. They speak nicely, but some of them don't" or "*People have to help each other because . . .* of humanity's sake" became, after analysis, "kind people. They speak nicely (use nice-sounding words), but some of them don't" and "of humanity's sake (because it is in the nature of human beings, because they are human, to help each other)," respectively. Each test took an average of seven hours: three hours for the translation, one hour to check, and three hours to clarify questionable points. After about eighty of the tests had been completed, the translations started to become very sloppy and their clarifications more difficult, so that toward the end it took a minimum of ten hours per test. (114)

One of the more important and perplexing decisions that had to be made during the translation process was how to label the hypothetical individuals referred to in the various SCT items. The decision was important because of the controversy surrounding the question of whether the SCT is truly a "projective technique"; that is, a technique which not only induces individuals to reveal their needs and wishes, but which induces them to do this unknowingly. It is argued that materials obtained projectively are less guarded and less censored than those derived from more direct techniques. The identity of the hypothetical individual described in the sentence fragment enters into the controversy in that the informant's identification of him directly affects the "projectability" of the item. Thus, it is asserted that if the individual described in the item is referred to in the

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("we" or "generalized I")[9] and *khon raw* ("we people"). However, I used two other terms, *khon* ("people") and *khaw* ("he," "she," or "they") in those items most descriptive of the expression of ego-alien sentiments: that is, those sentiments which, on the basis of my knowledge of the villagers, I expected to be most readily denied as being self-referring. Thus, an aggression item read: "*Khon most often get angry when . . .*," instead of "*Raw most often get angry when. . . .*" To simplify matters for the reader, later SCT materials which list both the original English language item and the English translation of the Thai translation will also include the Thai pronouns that were used in the various items.

The third stage of the SCT construction involved the pre-testing of the SCT schedule with ten villagers. A major aim of these trial interviews was to examine the quality of all the items. I was particularly concerned with how well informants understood the items and with identifying those items which interested them, those which required revision, those which brought forth revealing material, and those which elicited useless information.

The second purpose of the pre-test was to train my assistant in how to conduct the SCT interviews. Of principal concern was to try to minimize the effects of the interpersonal situation on the informant. Such effects can never be fully cancelled out, but they can be controlled to the extent of insuring that the data obtained represent the informant's product, not the product of ideas the interviewer might introduce into the situation. The major task of the training period, therefore, was instructing of the assistant in elementary interviewing techniques.[10]

The instructions also included such considerations as seating arrangements: try to locate the informant so that the canal—where people paddle by and can be waved to—is in our line of sight, not his. Ideally, he should be able to observe only the interviewers. If interviews are to be conducted in boats (later, eight of them were) the boat should be pulled off into one of the canal tributaries to minimize the disturbance from canal traffic. In general, privacy can be obtained by telling informants that since we wanted

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[9] *Raw* as a "generalized I" is not as ear-catching in Thai as it is in English. Thus, although *raw* can always mean "we," it is a perfect synonym, not a substitute, for "I" when the speaker wishes to indicate less self-reference. Another way of putting it is that when it is used to mean "I," the ordinary "we"-"I" contrast is psychologically inoperative; *raw* simply becomes an attenuated form of "I."

[10] The techniques which I had the most difficulty impressing on my assistants concerned such seemingly simple matters as the following: never afford the informant any hint of a response; if his first few responses are wild, repeat the instructions, and pick up the interview where it was left off, adding the items with the strange responses at the end; do not hesitate to encourage the informant with comments such as "that is fine"; if the informant gives funny responses, smile but do not laugh; if he is hesitating too long on an item, simply repeat the item as a prod; if he does not respond after three repeats, go on to the next item, and the like.

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nique," frequently makes one forget that variations in the context and form of sentence fragments actually make different versions of the SCT into entirely different "tests," leading to major differences in results and interpretations. Failure to recognize this obvious fact has led to some specious arguments (Lorge and Thorndike 1941 vs. Sacks and Levy 1952, for example) about the relative effectiveness of "the" instrument.

My point of view, of course, is that one can design an SCT to investigate *anything*, from cabbages to kings. The very nature of language—or more precisely, one of its defining characteristics, its "productivity" or "open-endedness"—permits this. (By "productivity" I mean, following Hockett 1959, that a speaker may say something that never before has been said or heard.) In this light, what is distinctive about the present work is not the fact that an SCT is being used but rather that the language of this particular SCT describes a number of universal social and psychological problems.

Second, the technique also helps to bring into focus an issue that is particularly crucial to cross-cultural personality studies. My primary task was of course to describe and analyze the villagers' predispositions in a number of areas of psychological concern: aggression, anxiety, dependency, and the like. There were originally thirteen such areas which, on the basis of prevailing ethno-psychological theory and practice, were presumed to be of major importance in the psychic lives of the informants. It should be recognized, therefore, that in selecting these areas I committed myself to the premise that there are in fact a number of analytic issues crosscutting all societies which are crucial to the psychosocial functioning of the members of these societies. This should not be taken lightly, because it is only on the basis of such a premise that a comparative science of personality may develop.

Such a science does not as yet exist, at least as a coherent, systematic corpus of theory and fact. Kroeber is absolutely right when he says (1955*a*: 303): "Culture and personality studies are being pursued with intensity and devotion, but one feels that they are popping off in diverse and unaccountable directions much like a string of fire-crackers. One inquirer is interested in tensions, another in Rorschachs, another wants to experiment on frustration; but in effect each starts off on his own—except when a string of them go in for a fad like toilet training. . . ."

Yet, there has been a steady flame setting off all these firecrackers: the search, at times undeniably ill-planned and unreflective, for a set of abstract, analytic categories by which the personalities of all peoples can be described and compared. Papers by Kluckhohn (1953, 1954*a*, 1954*b*), Hallowell (1950, 1953), Spiro (1954), Inkeles and Levinson (1954), and Kroeber himself (1955*a*, 1955*b*) on the psychological universals in human

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behavior suggest that there are now sufficiently solid theoretical and empirical grounds upon which to build such an undertaking. Inkeles and Levinson deal with the problem directly (1954: 989-990):

> One promising approach is to concentrate, for purposes of comparative analysis, on a limited number of psychological issues . . . that meet at least the following criteria. First, they should be found in adults universally, as a function of both maturational potentials common to man and of sociocultural characteristics common to human societies. Second, the manner in which they are handled should have functional significance for the individual personality as well as for the social system, in that their patterning in the individual will affect his readiness to establish, accept, maintain, or change a given sociocultural pattern. A further task, one that will take longer to carry out, is to develop a set of descriptive categories for the empirical analysis of each issue.[8]

Toward this end, Inkeles and Levinson present a provisional list of analytic issues, some of which are replicated in the Thai study: relation to authority, conception of self, bases for maintaining inner equilibrium, major forms of anxiety and ways of dealing with them, modes of cognitive functioning, styles of expressive behavior, and the handling of major dispositions such as aggression, dependency, and curiosity.

In formulating the various issues to be included in the SCT, I borrowed from Inkeles and Levinson and the other writers noted above. However, like them, I wish to note that this list of categories is neither exhaustive nor definitive. In fact, because of limitations of time and instrument design, some of the areas proposed above—cognitive functioning, for example—had to be ignored. Others were also ignored during the write-up because the materials elicited were not in my opinion sufficiently meaningful or revealing. The value of our list lies not in its formal completeness but rather in the fact that the issues which are included seem, on the basis of knowledge presently available, to be of universal psychological importance. This is a beginning.

A third attribute of the SCT, related to the above, deserves comment. This concerns the abstract nature of the SCT items.

A fundamental problem in all cross-cultural personality research is not

[8] In a later paper (1956), Inkeles qualified one of these criteria by noting that there are probably many personality complexes which are functionally significant to individuals, but which have little discernible relevance to the functioning of social systems. Much depends here on how one defines "social system" and "personality"—particularly "levels" of personality. Inkeles, for example, draws a clear theoretical distinction between "basic personality" and "social personality," the latter being comprised only of those traits which are necessary for the effective maintenance or change of the social system.

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only the specification of a series of pan-human psychological issues as described above, but the selection of a research tool capable of obtaining empirical data that *accurately* reflect these issues in the various cultures studied. Aggression, anxiety, dependency, and the like may be universal human dispositions, but the causes and circumstances pertaining to them vary considerably from culture to culture. This is of course a basic anthropological truism (see particularly Whiting 1954 and Lewis 1955). Perhaps the best theoretical formulation of the problem from a research point of view can be found in an unpublished paper by Suchman (1955; see also Sears 1961) where the matter is framed in terms of what is called "concept equivalence" vs. "data or item equivalence." Or translated into our research operations: given the fact that the concept "anxiety" as applied to Thai culture is equivalent to the concept "anxiety" as applied to American culture, what kinds of items will bring forth *equivalent* empirical data from both cultures relevant to this concept?

My decision in dealing with this question was to design items which were sufficiently abstract so that they could be used in any culture with assurance that the empirical problems which they described were accurate and equivalent representations of the concepts.[6] In essence, statements such as *"He was most afraid of . . . ," "When something worried him, he usually . . ."* were derived directly from the concept of anxiety, bypassing culturally specific definitions of anxiety; the experiences portrayed by the items are in themselves descriptively universal rather than culture-bound. Cultural specificity—which is of course the central aim of this research—enters when informants react to these experiences in their completions. From an operational point of view, therefore, the requirements of concept and item equivalence were effectively merged.

A final aspect of the SCT, of an entirely different order from the above, merits attention. This concerns those general methodological advantages which the SCT enjoys as an organized, semi-structured research technique.

First, the SCT permits the field worker to present his research interests to his informants rather than wait for manifestations of these interests to emerge spontaneously from the behavior or remarks of the informants. Data collected by this method is by no means any better than that obtained, for example, by observational techniques, but it is more complete. If an investigator wants to know how an adult villager would react to being struck by another person or what the villager thinks about when he is

[6] Florence Kluckhohn (1960: 6–7) in her effort to develop a technique for the cross-cultural study of value orientations comes to a similar conclusion. She says that the "more highly generalized" an item was, the more readily it could be translated for use in another culture.

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1950; and Wheelis 1958.) At best, it would suggest that the Thai informant was faced with a difficult problem external to himself—perhaps finding a job or a spouse, or thinking of his future—and was appraising his ability to deal with that problem. Also, such an appraisal would have a strong constraining element: the necessity to control one's hopes and desires (perhaps for the hypothetical job or spouse) in order to avoid potential pain or disappointment; in essence, "beware of your limitations; do not forget your station." This is in turn supported by certain Buddhist concepts, such as *?ubeegkhaa*, or stoical indifference to the vicissitudes of life, among others.

Whether there is *any* way to express handily in Thai the Western notion of "the need for self-acceptance" is doubtful. Most villagers are too thoroughly narcissistic to require such a concept in their cognitive maps. Alternatively, there are other more direct ways of saying what "knowing myself" might mean in Thai, for example, "controlling my desires," "knowing whether I have the ability to do the job," or by referring directly to Buddhist doctrine. As such, these statements would be an expression of piety or the bolstering of one's self-confidence (or steeling oneself against failure) rather than psychic introspection.

A similar interpretive problem exists with the completion "his family." Because Thai kinship relations are so strongly influenced by concepts of benevolent superiority and dependent inferiority, most expressions of the need for affiliation with the family immediately imply the related need of succorance: security, support, protection, and sympathy, either as source or beneficiary.

The point of these comments is that the responses must always be first interpreted in the villagers' terms, not ours. Once made, precisely by explanatory notes such as these, these interpretations become part of the "data" and serve as a basis for our analysis. It should be recognized, however, that anthropological mythology (and these particular examples) to the contrary, not *all* the responses are interpretively dissimilar. When a villager says, *"When he hit me, I . . . must hit him back,"* he means precisely the same thing we do. The point, therefore, is to be extremely sensitive to the possibility of differential meanings, underscore and explain it when it occurs, and use the native interpretation as a prerequisite and corrective to our own. For a brief but brilliant theoretical discussion of this problem see Bohannan 1959.

The Psychological Meaning of the Responses

The fourth premise concerns the psychological "meaning" of the responses. There are several aspects of this problem which require specification.

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*125 15 should conform. (For example: *"The best way to treat a subordinate is . . . to speak to him with kind and agreeable words"; "When he thinks of his father, he thinks of . . .* the goodness and kindness his father has done for him.") This is not a universal pattern since definitions of the ideal are ambiguous, lacking, or inappropriate for many of the items; also, such definitions seem not to be applied to items which imply immediate action. However, they do appear with sufficient frequency to be noticeable.

156 None of this should be surprising, inasmuch as viewing behavior in terms of "the good" and "the proper" is a central characteristic of the villagers' thought and idiom. They tend, *considerably* more than Americans, to evaluate (in an ethical sense) people and events rather than describe them, and even to describe by evaluating. Ask most villagers: "What kind of a person is so-and-so?" and their replies will consistently be in terms of whether he is "bad" or "good," rather than in terms of non-evaluative description, *e.g.*, he is "funny," "passive," "interesting." The words, *khon maj dii* and *khon dii* ("a bad person" and "a good person") are two of the most frequently occurring items in the Thai lexicon. One might epigrammatically characterize much of the villagers' thought as "super-ego-dominated." That this mode of thought should be applied to many of the SCT situations is hardly unexpectable.[9]

121 15 Having recognized this tendency, however, there is the problem of assessing its psychocultural meaning. Do such appeals to the ideal, especially as applied to the self, in any way weaken our definition of the responses as "predispositions to action?" Are many of the responses mere verbalisms that have little to do with real behavior?

121 114 15 A number of theorists, notably Murdock (1940 and 1954) and Kluckhohn (1943*b* and 1951) have taken the position that cultural behavior should be distinguished into two fundamentally different forms: ideal patterns and real patterns. The former are "those norms which are verbalized as the ideals to which behavior should conform" (Murdock 1954: 22); and the latter, patterns of actual, overt behavior. Opler has taken issue with the necessity for this distinction, and has argued (1948: 116):

> My own feeling is that the concern over precepts or ideal patterns which contrast with or stand apart from behavior is a pleasant distraction which will not get us very far. In my opinion the disparity between rule and behavior in society has been greatly exaggerated. Actually, behavior remains remarkably close to rules or precepts which are

[9] This same characteristic has been described in other contexts (Wilson and Phillips 1958, Phillips 1958, L. M. Hanks 1959*a* and 1959*b*) as the essentially moral nature of the villagers' universe: the tendency, largely implicit, for Bang Chaners to perceive events of the most diverse kinds within an ethical frame of reference. It might well be, as Redfield had argued for many years (1941, 1953, and 1956) that such a cognitive orientation is characteristic of all peasant peoples.

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considered of moment by the group. I think that it can be demonstrated that when precept and activity draw too far apart, a modification of one or the other is likely to take place to close up the gap.

In assessing my psychological test materials, I take the following position with regard to this issue. The distinction between the ideal and the real is an analytic requirement because obviously there are some instances where the two patterns are not congruent. However, once such distinction has been made there is no inherent necessity to assume that there *must* be a gap between the two patterns or if there is a gap, to assume that it must be especially wide. One will inevitably encounter in Bang Chan cases where subordinates are not spoken to "with kind and agreeable words." But on the whole, the extent to which real behavior does accord with this precept is impressive. For the most part, it is not a mere verbalism but rather a viable guide to action: a subordinate who is not treated with kind and agreeable words will not (depending of course on other situational factors as well) long maintain his ties to his superior. This same reasoning applies to the majority of the cases in which informants couch their responses in terms of cultural ideals.

A third aspect of the responses concerns the psychological "level" at which they will be interpreted. Because of the highly realistic nature of the completions, the necessity to interpret them in Thai terms (which precludes "blind analyses"—see DuBois 1944) and the necessity to work with the pooled responses of many individuals, our interpretations will not go psychodynamically very "deep." On the other hand, neither will we remain at the level of the manifest meanings of the responses. Although an informant's completion may represent a precise description of the way he would behave in real life, and in many cases does, it is more sensible from an analytic standpoint to view the response as a symptom of an underlying, more generalized, psychological orientation. The reasons for this are twofold: first, many of the responses which are superficially different seem to express simply alternate facets of a single, underlying predisposition; second, and more important, we must remember that on theoretical grounds personality characteristics are not, as Inkeles and Levinson point out (1954: 981) "phenotypic, behavior-descriptive terms, but rather are higher level abstractions that refer to stable, generalized dispositions or modes of functioning and may take a great variety of concrete behavioral forms."

In these terms, a statement such as *"When he saw that others avoided him, he* . . . also avoids them" indicates not only a person's desire not to associate with those who avoid him but, more important, an underlying, more general disposition *to accept and maintain a breakdown in social relations*. Moreover, the latter interpretation also encompasses such varying responses as: ". . . must not speak to them because they are bad. They

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125 15 like to look down upon people" and ". . . probably was not generous with them, so they avoided him." The significance of this underlying interpretation becomes even more apparent when the three responses are contrasted with other possible but unoffered completions which belong to totally different interpretive categories, for example, ". . . tried to make up with them" or ". . . asked them why?" signifying *attempts to reintegrate or understand the interpersonal rupture* and ". . . felt terribly hurt," indicating *emotional pain or disturbance.*

A Working Conception of Modal Personality

121 157 Our fifth and final premise is concerned with developing a workable conception of modal personality despite the inevitable paradoxes which attend such an endeavor.

The fundamental problem here is that in abstracting out the psychological similarities which the villagers share with one another, we become unavoidably involved in the difficulties of working with "conjugate variables"; that is, the more we concern ourselves with the commonality of a personality trait, the less we simultaneously learn about the role of that trait in the functioning of the individual members of the sample. The significance of this is not so much that we sacrifice an understanding of individuals for an understanding of the group, but that in so doing we must also sacrifice some of the depth and perceptiveness of our analysis. A successful personality study is in large measure achieved by descriptive contrast: we learn more about human beings the less they appear like other people. When subtle individual differences must be submerged for purposes of group characterization, the resulting descriptions must necessarily be less sensitive and precise.

The root of the problem lies in the fact that our basic units of analyses are individuals who, despite all the similarities they share as members of Thai culture, are obviously different from one another in specifics. Moreover, as Wallace points out in a recent article (1961a: 147–148), from the point of view of culture-personality theory, they *must* have certain psychological differences:

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> The problem of psychic unity is sometimes obscured by our tendency to regard human societies as populations and not as groups when we make psychological statements. A population of individuals may be described without references to their interrelationships; but a group cannot be considered apart from its organizational structure. Thus physical, demographic, or personality characteristics of the members of a population can be stated, explicitly or implicitly, as a statistical distribution on one or more dimensions, and to the extent that the data

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> permit, some measure or estimate of central tendency can be calculated which will allow the attribution of some value or range on one or more dimensions to all, or a specified sub-population, of the population itself. . . .
>
> But such predicates, universally applicable to all members of a population, are inadequate for the psychological analysis of that population as a group, as an elementary consideration reveals: most culturally organized groups not merely permit but require that their members perform different roles in interaction. . . .

Although Wallace does not state it in so many words, it is apparent that he is referring to differences in age, sex, and occupational roles, or to any other roles that may be deemed important, and is assuming that the individuals who perform the roles have in some respects different personality types. (Whether the latter assumption is completely valid is still another problem. For a provocative discussion of the analytic complexity of the personality-role relationship, of the non-congruence which may occur, and of consequent psychological adjustments see Levinson 1959; Nadel 1957 also touches on the issue.) In any case, it is clear that whatever psychic unity informants have as members of the same culture, they are differentiated from each other on at least two counts: (1) their individual life experiences and genetic-constitutional backgrounds which ultimately give them each a unique personality; and (2) their performance of different social roles.

These differentiae are of course virtually self-evident. But what is not self-evident—nor easy to decide—is how much emphasis should be given to them in formulating or qualifying our conception of Thai peasant modal personality. Any decision that we make is from some point of view unsatisfactory. Should we treat our informants solely as individuals, and pursue our analysis with rigor, we would get an increasingly refined picture of the uniqueness of these individuals but, at the same time, a decreasingly clear picture of their cultural or shared characteristics. The analysis would undoubtedly be more precise but, in effect, we would be studying "idioverses"—idiosyncratic versions of culture (Mead 1958)—with little basis for determining what is culturally typical or deviant. In fact, questions of the normative or variant would become logically irrelevant. On the other hand, should we group the informants into age or sex groups and contrast the responses of these groups, it might well seem that the personality differences between men and women, for example, are greater than the similarities, or even that Thai women are more like Navaho or American women than they are like Thai men. Although I suspect that culture makes for greater psychological similarity than does sex and, as Sharp has pointed out (Sharp *et al.* 1953) Bang Chan culture is, from a cross-cultural point of view, impressive for its slight differentiation of the adult

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121 157 roles of the sexes, such findings are not empirically impossible. Finally, should we de-emphasize the distinctions between individuals and role-defined sub-groups, and consider all the responses as a whole, we would as suggested earlier be in the best possible position for determining the villagers' modal personality but would proportionately lack analytic precision. There would always be some intra-sample differences—as far down as the individual level—which the critic could point to as requiring discrimination, although such discrimination would obviously have to be achieved at the cost of group identification.

Given these various alternatives, each of which has its merits and shortcomings, what should the analyst do? I have decided to conform to the principal aim of this research and focus primarily on total group responses, that is, on those abstracted psychological similarities which all or, more realistically, large numbers of our individual informants share with one another. Operationally, this entails investigating the responses of all informants on each SCT item rather than those of each informant on all items, and explicating the major underlying psychological theme or themes of these responses. [125]

The inclusion of both the singular "theme" and plural "themes" in the preceding sentence is not only intentional but crucial to our formulation of modal personality. Its significance will perhaps best be seen by contrasting our approach with the two prevailing points of view governing most modal personality formulations. On the one hand, the majority of the culture-personality and particularly "national character" studies of recent years have been characterized by an assumption of psychological *unimodality*; that is, an assumption that the culture being investigated has such a high degree of psychological homogeneity that it can be portrayed as having a *single* personality pattern, with perhaps a few deviant sub-types. The assumption is based partially on precedents established within the history of ethnographic method (Herskovits 1954); partially on unconscious aesthetic considerations involved in the presentation of data (Opler 1948 on Benedict); and partially on the apparent validity of the concept in some areas of psychocultural functioning in which, once established, it is tacitly extended to include all areas. Even Wallace's sophisticated study of the modal personality of the Tuscarora (1952) is based on the premise of unimodality, although his aim is to find out precisely how *unimodal* the Tuscarora actually are.

Whatever attractiveness the premise of unimodality may have, it is clearly an oversimplification of psycho-ethnographic facts. Human beings in any culture are simply too complex to be of the same psychological stamp in all respects. In his recent paper (1961*a*), Wallace points out that a research design for the study of modal personality which involves only [114]

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twenty binary dimensions (which is considerably less than is actually employed in most Rorschach analyses) will yield up to 1,048,576 structural types, to which Wallace adds, "the uniformity of the population on each dimension must be impressive, or the types must be very crudely defined, before any one type is likely to acquire prevalence over any substantial proportion of the group. . . ."

Having recognized the oversimplification of the unimodal approach, however, there is no inherent necessity to go the the opposite extreme and posit a complete *multimodality*. Yet this seems to be the position taken by Inkeles and Levinson (1954) and Kaplan (1954, 1957, and Kaplan, Rickers-Ovsiankina, and Joseph 1956) who, genuinely disturbed by the stereotypy and lack of sophistication of the unimodal viewpoint, argue that cultural groups are characterized by a plurality of personality patterns. Kaplan's arguments are particularly compelling in that he bolsters them with empirical cross-cultural evidence, although he himself admits (1954) that his results may be a consequence of his particular sorting and categorizing techniques. He concludes his comparative study of Navaho and Zuni TAT's with the statement that (1957): "The influence of culture on personality does not appear to create a common personality configuration in its members, but instead tends to foster a variety of personality tendencies in small groups or clusters of individuals while leaving many aspects of personality free to vary without respect to group membership."

My position, in comparison, is that the cases for complete unimodality and complete multimodality are both overstated. What both viewpoints seem to overlook is the likelihood of there being *specific areas* of psychocultural functioning in which a high degree of homogeneity exists and *other specific areas* in which a high degree of heterogeneity comes into play. This more flexible formulation not only provides a more realistic picture of modal personality than can be had from ascriptions of wholesale uniformity and diversity but directs our attention to identifying the areas of differential frequencies and attempting to account for them. For example, I suspect that those areas characterized by a high degree of homogeneity are ones likely to be surrounded by strong cultural sanctions, or are areas of psychological "focus" (psychological parallels to Herskovits' "cultural focus," [10] as it were) or, perhaps, are areas of greatest cultural conditioning; conversely, I would think that areas of high heterogeneity most likely do

[10] Although Herskovits seems to have changed his definition of "cultural focus" over time (1945 and 1948), his first definition is most relevant to our present meaning: "that area of activity or belief where the greatest awareness of form exists, the most discussion of values is heard, the widest difference in structure is to be discerned." However, unlike his formulation, which in practice assumes only one focus in one culture, our use of the term presupposes that a culture can have a number of psychological foci.

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*125 152 ceptions, took on additional significance when related to the sense of psychological worth and self-love that the people of Bang Chan *also* exhibit. Again, the essential issue here is not the presence or absence of anxiety about interpersonal relationships. There is little doubt that villagers do suffer such anxiety. Rather, the question is one of *relative* frequency, and, by implication, the *relative* importance of such suffering to the *total* need and deprivation system of the villagers. It is precisely with regard to this larger kind of question that an instrument such as the SCT can provide context and perspective.

Turning to the theoretical issues that have been raised or suggested by the data, perhaps the most important is the problem of "conformity" as it relates to the villagers' loosely structured social system. This problem is of course at the center of all social psychological research. It is concerned with how, why, and the extent to which individuals relate to their social environments. In fact, in a recent paper aimed at synthesizing the theoretical premises underlying most current culture personality research, Bert Kaplan (1961*b*) presents a cogently argued case for the necessity of anthropologists and psychologists to shift their attention from the study of why individuals behave in particular ways to the study of this more generalized disposition. He says (665–666):

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> Up to now our emerging theory appears to suggest a jungle-like situation in which wholly free and autonomous individuals, in a relatively opportunistic way, make use of the available channels of social partici-

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*125 121 152 regressions, and other psychodynamic processes of informants. Even so, it is highly unlikely that the anxiety responses of adults are *simply* the result of a series of unconscious processes—substitutive, projective, or otherwise. It must be remembered that an anxiety response is just as often a function of the ego, oriented to and in the service of the organism's reality needs, as it is a function of unconscious needs derived from the difficulties of the developmental process. When we consider that the villagers live in one of the most unpredictable universes imaginable and that they are a people entering the throes of a revolution of rising expectations, it is not at all surprising that they should feel anxious about threats to their physical well-being, expressed as a fear of going hungry or being poor. In fact, I would suggest that at bottom these are expressions of an existential anxiety about the essential instability, uncertainty, and impermanence of all life (including their own), an anxiety which has its cognitive basis in the "Wheel of Law" and other Buddhist doctrine. It might be argued that since, objectively viewed, the villagers are well fed and enjoy one of the highest standards of living in Asia, such anxieties are without foundation. I would answer by saying that the villagers are not aware of the per capita income figures for Asia, and that "reality" for any people is how they subjectively perceive and define it, not what it objectively is. To say that there is no realistic basis for the villagers' anxiety about going hungry and being poor is like saying that there is no realistic basis for their belief in interminable existences or in the timeless continuity of the self. In both instances they believe these things to be the case, and ultimately that is what is important.

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pation and the rewards that are attached to them. . . . However, there is much evidence that conformity is ordinarily a generalized and diffuse disposition, not something that occurs only when some desired reward is in sight. One might say that it is the basic way of life of all but a few persons in any society. The essential meaning of most social action is not that the actor wishes to do this or that act, but that he wishes to stand in a conformative relationship to the social demands that exist in the situation. In the great majority of social situations most of us are not concerned with the problem of what to do, but much more with the problem of finding out what it is that would be appropriate. When we know what this is, compliance follows almost automatically. The basic fact is that we are mostly good citizens, persons who want to do what is right, correct, decent, and fitting. The culture and personality issue that we have been working to define so far, is not why persons wish to do this or that act, but why they are good citizens. Or, in other terms, what is the motivational basis for the generalized disposition to conformity. . . .

The approach outlined in this highly persuasive argument would clearly contribute to increased understanding of the functioning of social systems, particularly complex, smoothly operating ones. However, on the basis of our Thai materials, I wonder if it is not in fact based on the highly debatable assumptions that (a) all social systems function *equally* smoothly; (b) that all social systems are *equally* demanding in their functional requirements for people to conform; and (c) that persons in *different* societies are *equally* motivated, through socialization or otherwise, to conform. Kaplan in fact says: "One might say that it [conformity] is the basic way of life of all but a few persons in *any* society." (Italics added.) It seems to me that Thai culture provides a powerful argument for the capacity of a social system to function and of its members to have reasonably satisfying relationships with one another (they get done in a pleasant way the things that have to be done) while the standards for and dispositions to conformity are very low indeed. Again, it is perfectly true that Bang Chaners are highly motivated to conform, and even to over-conform, in face-to-face relationships. However, the most striking characteristic of these relationships is not the conformity exhibited in them. It is rather that there is never any assurance that the relationships will actually occur, or if they do occur, that the commitments undertaken in one face-to-face encounter will be carried over to the next. The conformity typically is immediate, short-lived, and uncertain. Bang Chaners may wish "to stand in a conformative relationship to the social demands that exist in the situation." But they first must make a judgment on whether or not to stand in that relationship, a decision that is very much based on their being "free and autonomous individuals, [who] in a relatively opportunistic way, make use of the

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156 available channels of social participation and the rewards that are attached to them. . . ."

12) 114 15 Without claiming in any way to know the thinking that prompted Kaplan's provocative comments on the importance of the motivation of conformity in shaping action, I wonder if it is not based on the supposition that situations in all cultures are similar to those that we typically encounter in our own highly complex, functionally specific culture—a culture which, *if it is to operate in the highly complex and relatively efficient way we know it*, requires that individuals conform to the demands of their tasks. In other terms, to what extent is the argument for conformity based on the supposition that the majority of relationships in most societies are similar to those which obtain, for example, between workers on an assembly line or between a secretary and her employer, where, if conformity were not maintained most of the time, the consequences would be functionally disastrous, disastrous to the very *purpose* of the relationship? While I take issue here with Kaplan, there is one crucial aspect in which I am in complete agreement with what he seems to be aiming at. That is, if his argument is in fact based upon, and directed at understanding, a strictly American model, I can thoroughly understand the import of his question: "What is the motivational basis for the generalized disposition to conformity . . . [?]" After living in Thailand for several months and observing, and often identifying with, the ease with which individuals pursued their own purposes, oblivious to the requirements of conformity, I began to wonder not about the Thai capacity to maintain loosely structured relationships but about the considerably more mystifying American capacity to conform to the expectations of others. From a *psychological* point of view, the latter is by far the more difficult and demanding, requiring as it does inhibition of and control over one's own desires and a deeply developed predisposition to orient oneself to others. How this orientation is developed and sustained on such a pervasive scale as is found in American culture—particularly with regard to the rewards involved ("Are *instrumental* rewards such as money really sufficient to link person A to person B?")—is clearly, as Kaplan suggests by his posing of the issue, an analytic problem the motivational details of which we presently have only the dimmest understanding. To a certain extent this orientation is explicable in terms of the simple malleability of human beings; in terms of the consummatory rewards that instrumental satisfactions eventually lead to; or perhaps in terms of what Wallace (1957) calls, "cultural identification," or the love of one's culture patterns for their own sake (in this case, love of the modes of social interaction to be found in one's culture). This last would involve interactional patterns assuming a *motivational* "functional autonomy" (Allport 1937) of their own, that is, ego deriving an *intrinsic*

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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satisfaction from fulfilling another's expectations. However, it is clear that the actual motivational process individuals go through in order to learn to be concerned with the expectations of others—and considering the pervasiveness of this concern, it must involve either intensive or sustained learning—has yet to be examined in a ramified way.[8]

To my knowledge, the only scholars to address themselves directly to the question of the motivations and rewards for conformity are Kaplan in an earlier paper (1957) and Parsons (1952, 1961, and Parsons *et al.* 1953). Kaplan argued that there are two motivational tendencies making for conformity: the desire to behave morally and the desire to please others. The former tendency is quite explicable in terms of the development and functioning of the super-ego (a universal human attribute), and by emphasizing this, particularly with his later use of the pointed phrase, "good citizen," Kaplan's contribution is considerable. However, the latter consideration begs the question of why individuals should be so motivated to please others, and raises the additional problem, as I have done here, of whether all people are equally motivated in such directions. Parsons' early discussions of conformity simply propound the "evaluative, cognitive, and cathectic" satisfactions that the fulfillment of prescribed patterns award to the individual. In his later, more carefully elaborated essay, he sees the roots of conformity in the inherent helplessness of the human infant. In what is essentially a masterful sociological translation of Freud, he argues that conformity develops into a "generalized goal" or "mode of organization of the ego" as the individual successively identifies with, cathects, and internalizes the attitudes of the powerful figures (his parents) who respond to his helplessness. In this sense, Parsons seems to be arguing that the individual's major initial reward for conformity is the maintenance of his own life. The individual's conformity is gradually generalized as he goes through successive developmental stages, reaching its crystallization—the "point of no return," as it were—in the painful options of the Oedipal

[8] The theories that have been most concerned with the nature of conformity and "self-other" orientations—role theory and "symbolic interactionist" theory—have for the most part viewed the motivations and rewards for conformity as self-evident. That is, the immense literature of these "schools" has tended to focus not on why individuals should wish to conform in the first place, but on the skills, consequences, and non-motivational processes of conformative behavior. Writers such as G. H. Mead (1934), Cameron and Magaret (1951), Sarbin (1954), Shibutani (1961), and Rose (1962) all recognize the necessity of individuals to be socialized into conformity, but they go no further than describing the manifest processes of socialization—"intentional instruction" and "incidental learning," "imitation" and "spontaneous play activities." Having once mentioned these processes, they simply go on to assume that the conformative motivation is thoroughly internalized and self-sustaining. The only exception I have found is Shibutani who addresses himself to the matter of reward in a single sentence (1961: 509): "For most children, the voluntary inhibition of impulses begins with attempts to please those whom they admire."

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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12 situation. It might be added that since the Oedipal situation is very much of
114 a moral crisis, Parsons' arguments go far in supporting Kaplan's earlier
15 contentions. Parsons, however, says little about the *different* ways in which parents respond to the child's helplessness and little about *variations* in the intensity and types of identifications, cathexes, and internalizations that the individual may implement—factors which would obviously lead to different kinds of conformative tendencies. Our earlier materials on Bang Chan socialization are particularly instructive on this point. In fact, if Parsons' formulation were linked to those data, it would go a long way to explain precisely why Bang Chaners have such a weakly developed sense of conformity. In the same way, the contrast helps to underscore the profound sense of interpersonal involvement, dependence, and concern inculcated in members of our own culture during the developmental process. To Parsons, the quintessence of these interpersonal investments is, of course, the Oedipal situation: the prototypic encounter with the power of external authority and all that such power implies for the individual's need to conform and to deny and control his own impulses. If this interpretation is correct, it would further suggest that the Oedipal situation must be based, *in the first instance*, on the developmental experience of close interpersonal involvement—an experience which, as our Thai data demonstrate, is subject to broad cross-cultural variation.

*128 The problem of "conformity" raises an additional question, one that has
*156 been implicit to many of our earlier remarks, but which merits explicit consideration in these final pages. At several points in the text, it was suggested that the villagers, with their profound sense of self-concern and freedom of choice, often choose to ignore or to isolate themselves from the effects and influences of others. This kind of behavior is a major dimension of their loosely structured relationships; it appears as well in their handling of dependency, anxiety, and aggression. From a psychological point of view, the behavior can be interpreted in one of two ways. On the one hand, it can be interpreted to mean that the villagers have difficulty in relating themselves to others, and use isolation as a means of defense. Implicit here is the notion of emotional deprivation, for who but a deprived person should wish to withdraw from contact with others? On the other hand, the behavior can be read to mean that the villagers are emotionally tough, and simply do not need other people very much. Here isolation is seen as self-reliance and mature emotional security. Throughout this study, I have chosen to stress the latter interpretation.

*128 This kind of interpretation is not an easy one to justify in contemporary
114 Western social science. Implicit to almost all of our thinking is the Judaeo-
*156 Christian assumption (more recently codified by Durkheim and Freud)
181 that the greatest psychological pleasures an individual experiences are

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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derived from his interpersonal contacts, commitments, and interdependencies. In fact, I would suggest that perhaps the major reason that Freud (although correct) placed so much emphasis on sex is because the sexual experience is the most absolute expression of interdependency. My materials from this little community in Thailand, where psychological isolation is the norm and where this norm is so impressed upon the Western observer, have stimulated me into wondering if perhaps our past assumption has represented only *half* the story. What we have failed to see (or if we have seen, ignored) is that there is immense psychological satisfaction to be gained through psychological isolation, or from experiences that require or presuppose isolation. Such satisfactions are found in the pleasures of lonely creativity. (Has a committee, family, tribe, or neighborhood ever written a symphony or a poem, or even a fable?) Additional examples are sleep ("sweet sleep"); directing oneself toward the extremities of human experience in matters of faith and religious belief (by definition, a lonely, isolated experience); inducing mind-body alterations, as in hallucinatory states. These are all pleasurable experiences that can be talked *about*, but never shared. My point is of course that for historical and other reasons we have come to assume that loneliness is maladaptive, something which at best is to be avoided, at worst dreaded. And this is clearly not the case: no more than is the experience of dealing with a spouse, a brother, a child, a friend, or a teacher maladaptive.

What is perhaps most surprising is that the evidence for the need for isolation and privacy has been so readily available, and yet until recently so easily ignored. All of us who have observed children—in whom the elemental psychological needs of our species are most clearly and unashamedly expressed—have been impressed by the child's need for contact, love, response, and stimulation. But equally apparent is the child's need for privacy and lack of stimulation. Thus, we are just now beginning to become aware that the child's use of his thumb (in Bang Chan, his forefinger), his trips into quiet fantasy, his recurrent assertion, "Leave me alone!" are not simply amusing infantile epiphenomena, nor even defenses against an oppressive external world, but are expressions of a fundamental human need to be with oneself.

The villagers of Bang Chan, of course, are not children. They are people who for their own distinctive psychocultural reasons—their Buddhist ethos, their child-rearing practices, their loose and simple social system—have heightened this essential human need to be left alone, and express it in a mature, adult way. Unless one assumes that the only universe is the social universe, theirs is not a case of emotional deprivation. It is rather an honest and unabashed expression of another kind of psychological need, one which we in the Western world, for our own peculiar

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FOREWORD

114 The Cornell Thailand Project, like other Cornell University studies in community development, is a long term investigation in the field of the processes involved in changing cultural behavior in a non-industrialized society. Field research was begun in 1948 in the central plain of Thailand with base line studies of the rice farming community of Bang Chan and its environs. A collaborating staff of Thai and Americans representing different disciplines has continued to work in Thailand at Bang Chan and elsewhere in a series of phases extending to the present.

113 The first interim report issued by the Project gives a general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49 together with some material on health and diet (Sharp et al., 1953). Since the circulation 128 of this first interim report was limited, some of the salient characteristics of Bang Chan should be outlined here.

361 Bang Chan is located some twenty roadmiles northeast of Bangkok, the rapidly growing major metropolis and capital of Thailand. The village is between two and three miles west of a small district administrative center and market town, 487 Minburi. A century-old canal and to the north of it a post- 491 war hard surface road connect Minburi and Bangkok so that villagers have easy access to these two centers by boat or bus.

621 In 1954, when data for the present study were still being 162 gathered, the population of Bang Chan was about 1700, divided among about 300 households. Roughly 60 per cent of the house- 592 holds were made up of independent nuclear families consisting of parents and unmarried children. The average size for all families was 5.7 persons. Rice farming was the main occupa- 243 tion of 80 per cent of all families. The population in 1954 241 worked and lived on about 2800 acres (7000 rai) of land. With the exception of some 120 acres (300 rai) used for the home 463 sites and home gardens scattered along the network of canals in the village, all land was devoted to the cultivation of wet 311 rice. Nutritional density is thus practically the same as population density. Of the rice crop, 60 per cent or more may be sold, the remainder providing seed, feed, and the staple 132 food of the people. During the wet season and into the cooler 221 dry season, from May or June to February, the growing of the 519 single crop of rice is the main activity. The hot dry season from March until the rice planting begins again is a period of fiestas, ceremonies, and visiting.

621 The Thai countryside is divided into hamlets, each with 622 a headman in charge of the thirty to sixty households of the 128 hamlet. Seven such hamlets constitute the Bang Chan community. (In the Project studies they are identified by the initials BC and KY followed by a number).

and KY followed by a number.) The center of social life in Bang Chan is the Buddhist monastery or wat and the adjacent government primary school. The community simply consists of the clientele which regularly patronizes Wat Bang Chan and this school rather than other comparable institutions elsewhere in the region. Within the area of the community lives a minority of Thai Moslems constituting about ten per cent of the population. They have their own mosque which happens to be just outside Bang Chan, but they attend many secular and some Buddhist functions at Wat Bang Chan. A number of small stores, which also serve as coffee houses and men's clubs, are used as neighborhood centers in different parts of the village. Near the central wat and school, there is also a store, and the house provided by one of the headmen for use as the Project headquarters.

This present interim report of the Cornell Thailand Project includes some of the data necessary for the design of a program to improve health and diet in Bang Chan. Another report, now in preparation, will give the results of a detailed dietary survey made in the community following the health survey reported on here. These two studies together will indicate existing deficiencies in health and diet, and will permit the formulation of recommendations for needed changes in behavior as these can be realized in the context of the village and national culture.

The author of this study, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, is Professor of Food and Nutrition in Cornell University. She has been associated with the work of the Cornell Thailand Project since 1950. She not only designed and supervised the research on health, nutritional status, and diet in Bang Chan, but during almost a year of field work in Thailand she obtained valuable data on many other topics for the Project's files. Some of her daily work in Bang Chan made little sense to the villagers, but they nevertheless became devoted to her. Her energy, tact and fine spirit in facing the discomforts and difficulties of rough field work in a tropical foreign land inspired both her Thai and American associates. Working with Professor Hauck were Dr. Anusith Rajatasilpin, now a teacher in the School of Public Health in Bangkok; Miss Sapha Indrasud, now in the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School of the University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, who has been doing post-graduate work in nutrition at Cornell and Harvard. To all of these faithful workers, the Cornell Thailand Project is greatly indebted.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Professor of Anthropology

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
September, 1956

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• 114 For the period of her field study, 1952-53, the author received an award for advanced research from the United States Educational (Fulbright) Foundation in Thailand.

The author wishes to express her gratitude for the assistance of her Thai co-workers: Dr. Anusith Rajatasilpin and Miss Sapha Indrasud, whose services were provided by the Food and Drug Administration, Bangkok, Thailand, through the courtesy of its director, Dr. Yong H. Chutima; Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, whose services were made available through the courtesy of Dr. Luang Vach Vidyaddhana, Dean of the Dental School, University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, who served as field worker with the Cornell Thailand Project during 1953-54.

[126] Stool examinations were made at the Department of Pathology, Chulalongkorn Hospital, Bangkok.

[128] Some preliminary tabulations and analyses of data were made at the Division of Statistical Services, National Economic Council, Bangkok, through the courtesy of its director, Dr. Tooi Xoomsai.

ooo For the interest and friendliness of the people of Bang Chan, without whose cooperation the study would not have been possible, the author is particularly grateful.

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Introduction

121 This investigation was undertaken in connection with the Cornell Thailand Project, one of several studies under the auspices of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology which are focused on the process of cultural change. Bang Chan, the community chosen for intensive investigation, has been described previously (Sharp et al., 1953). The studies to be reported [101] herein were designed to contribute to a baseline description of the community culture and were carried out during the first and second years of a 5-year project, i.e. from September 1952-May 1954.

• 114 For the clinical examination of the school children and families, the research group consisted of Dr. Anusith Rajatasilpin, Miss Sapha Indrasud, Dua Srisuay, a local villager who assisted in many practical ways, and the author, who assumed major responsibility for planning and directing the work. Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School, University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok, examined the teeth of the school children. Some data on sanitary practices were collected by Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, in connection with the dietary survey.

121 The main investigations undertaken fall into two categories: 1) studies of nutritional status and 2) dietary studies, both qualitative and quantitative. In connection with both types of studies, information was collected concerning certain aspects of health and of sanitation in the village. Additional data concerning health practices, illness and death in Bang Chan were recorded by members of the Cornell research group in their field notes. This present report is concerned primarily with presenting findings from all of those sources regarding aspects of the health, sanitation and nutritional status in this rural Thai community.

Methods

Clinical Examination

125 Schedule. - In general, the clinical examination was directed toward discovery of signs and symptoms which might either be indicative of nutritional deficiency or of some disturbance which might be associated with or lead to nutritional deficiency. Certain items, such as cristal height, bicristal diameter, and age at menarche were included because information concerning them would contribute to our knowledge of norms for Thai people, and the clinical examination presented a good opportunity for obtaining such information.

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145 not recall the age at menarche.

The median and modal reported age at menarche was 15 years, with a range from 13-19 years (Table 11).

Table 11

Reported Age at Menarche of 94 Females in Bang Chan.

	Age in Years						
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Number at each age	6	18	34	21	8	4	3
Percentage at each age	6	19	36	22	9	4	3

This estimate, made from ages given by recall, is necessarily approximate; however, none of the girls between 12 and 14 who were examined clinically, had passed the menarche. Moreover, median and modal ages at menarche were 15 years for sub-groups aged 15 to 24, and 25 to 39 at the time of inquiry, hence the inclusion in this series of women for whom the event was not recent did not alter the estimated median age at menarche. Wilson and Sutherland (1953) conclude that in tropical countries the onset of menstruation as compared with that for English children, 145 may be either early or late. Tannor (1955) notes that if 114 climate has an effect on age at menarche, it must be a minor one, 121 and that at present the effect of race cannot be disentangled from nutritional and socio-economic circumstances. Basing his [146] judgment on the effects on man of famine associated with war, and on results of direct experiments on animals, Tanner expresses the conviction that nutrition plays a major role in determining the age at which menarche and the adolescent spurt in growth occur. If this view is correct, the relatively late median age of menarche in Bang Chan may be associated with inferior nutritional status.

145 One of 17 women in the age group 35-44 had passed the menopause, whereas 12 of 16 women over 45 years of age had done so. One of 7 women over 55 years of age, 2 of 7 women age 50-54, and one of 2 women age 45-49 had not yet reached the menopause. The reported ages at menopause were: 30-34 years, 2 women; 40-44 years, 3 women; 45-49 years, 3 women and 50-54, 5 women.

147 Approximately 100 respondents gave information concerning

Procedures Used in Obtaining Information Recorded on Schedule for Clinical Examination, and Descriptions of Possible Manifestations of Nutritive Failure

114 For the clinical portion of the nutrition survey, the team consisted of a Thai physician, who carried out the clinical examination, the nutritionist, who made the physical measurements, a second-class chemist, who did the hemoglobin determinations and served as interpreter, and a local boy who not only propelled the boat but helped in other ways such as giving directions to the children concerning preparations for being weighed and measured. The nutritionist was the only non-Thai on the team. The physician's internship had been served in a hospital in which he had opportunity to see many patients with nutritional disorders.

123 The material which follows is primarily descriptive of the procedures agreed upon in advance of the clinical examination. When different descriptions of a given sign were obtained from the various sources, the criteria which the physician agreed to use, after discussion with the nutritionist, are stated here. Some of the signs described were not observed in any of the persons examined in Bang Chan.

Before beginning the survey, the examining physician and the nutritionist agreed that only signs which could be considered undoubtedly positive should be so recorded.

128 125 In preparing the schedule, care was taken to avoid diagnosis, i.e. the physician was to record what he saw. If the examining physician believed diagnosis or probable diagnosis would be helpful, he recorded this under Comments. Thus Comments included such items as the following:

1. Diagnosis of deficiency disease, together with nature of onset, association with other conditions such as pregnancy, malaria or dysentery.

2. Obvious present disease as trachoma, ring worm etc. or evidence of past disease, as smallpox scars.

3. Complaints such as bloody stools, or other conditions which might affect adversely the general health and nutrition.

The schedule was designed to be used with all ages and both sexes. Items relating to menstrual and child bearing history were placed at the end, to be used for adolescent girls and women.

Comments on the items on the schedule follow:

1. Hamlet and house number. Information given by the school child or householder was checked later with the census data.

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4,5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

APPENDIX A

March 1956

HOW THE BANG CHAN SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

How the Study Came to be Made

121 The survey conducted in May 1955 was part of a program* for testing diverse techniques of data-gathering in cultures substantially different from U.S. and Western European cultures, where the survey method of gathering data had been developed and tested.

• 114 The survey questionnaire was developed and the field work carried out with the help of area specialists of the Cornell Research Center in Bangkok. Mr. Robert B. Textor and Mr. Loebonga Satabhaya of the Cornell Thai staff assisted the field director and recruited the English-speaking Thai university students who interviewed for the survey.

The Questionnaire

12 After a period of training interviewers about the questionnaire and techniques of interviewing, the questionnaire was pretested in a rural community near Bang Chan. Then the staff, consisting of the field director, his deputy, and five Thai interviewers, among them one woman, moved to Bang Chan to carry out the survey.

124 Thai and English-language versions of the schedule were
125 drawn up, but of the 335 interviews conducted in the survey, the overwhelming majority was conducted in the Thai language rather than through an interpreter.

The Interviewers

124 The interviewers were a mixed group: one Thai-speaking American anthropologist; one trained Thai anthropological field worker; two Thai Christians (one a theology, the other a medical student); one Thai Buddhist medical student, one Thai Buddhist female social worker; and an American sociologist who used the Thai interviewers as interpreters.

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[122] * The Cornell Cross-Cultural Methodology Project for the Development and Testing of Improved Methods to Study Underdeveloped Areas is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and is a project in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

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125
621 The age breakdown of the sample is as follows:

41 cases of 20 to 29 years of age
73 cases of 30 to 39 years of age
85 cases of 40 to 49 years of age
68 cases of 50 to 59 years of age
41 cases of 60 to 69 years of age
16 cases of 70 years or more

The occupational status breakdown is as follows:

269 farm operators
24 farm laborers
18 in trade or commerce
10 in service occupations
12 other (2 retired, 2 artisans, 1 traditional doctor,
1 janitor, 1 air force man, 1 policeman,
1 children's caretaker 1 gardener,
1 laborer in irrigation department, and
1 occupation unspecified)

123 Respondent Reaction to the Survey

The respondents were in general cooperative and congenial as is substantiated by the following interviewers' ratings:

(1) 93 per cent of the respondents were reported as cordial at first contact;

(2) 96 per cent of the respondents were reported friendly, cooperative, and responsive for all or most of the interview;

(3) 90 per cent of the respondents were reported as speaking freely for all or most of the interview,

(4) 91 per cent were reported as answering to the point of most or all questions, as giving reasonable, applicable answers;

(5) Only 3 per cent of the respondents were reported as giving many guarded, insincere or evasive replies, whereas 15 per cent were reported as giving some guarded, insincere or evasive replies; and 80 per cent of the respondents were reported as giving no guarded, insincere or evasive replies.

114 The interviewing period fell in a relatively quiet season between harvesting and planting of paddy. At that time farmers were readying implements and beginning to prepare for harrowing and sowing the seed-beds. The period coincided with a period of university vacation so as to recruit English-speaking interviewers. The morale of the staff was high at all times.

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

• 114 Kamol Odd Janlekha was born on July 22, 1918, in Nakorn Rajsima, Thailand. After graduation from Vajiravudh High School in 1935, he was sent by the Thai Government to study Agricultural Economics in the University of the Philippines, where he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture in 1940.

In 1940, he entered Thai government service and served as Head Section of Rice Extension from 1941 to 1946. Throughout World War II, he also served as Food Drive Officer for Bangkok, Thonburi, Nonburi, Ayuthia, Chainat and Supanburi. Concurrently, he was also a member in the Occupation Subcommittee of the Board of Evacuation.

He was employed as an instructor in Kasetsat University, Bangkok, in 1948. In this same year, he assisted Professor Lauriston Sharp of Cornell University in the preliminary community study of Bangchan, Thailand. In 1949, he served as field director of an agricultural economic survey of Sarapee District, Chiengmai, co-sponsored by the Thai Government and Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

He entered Cornell University in 1950, and received a Master of Science degree in 1951. During 1952-53, he was

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7

114 sent by the Southeast Asian Program of Cornell University to continue his research in Bangchan, Thailand. He completed the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September, 1955 with a major in Economics of Agriculture, and minors in Cultural Anthropology and Far Eastern Studies.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY

Since 1947 Cornell University has been sponsoring a number of studies in community development in various parts of the world. "All of these studies are multiple approaches to a central problem: What are the basic factors involved in the process of cultural change? In the Cornell studies of changing human behavior it is postulated that in any society no one element of change can be clearly understood except in relation to other elements. Biological factors -- birth rates, disease, malnutrition -- must be investigated in relation to the physical environment and the total culture of the society in which they occur. Functional aspects of culture -- family life, economy, education, religion -- must be studied in relation to each other rather than simply as isolated segments of group life."[1]

This study of the economy of a rice growing village in Central Thailand is a part of the Cornell University Thailand Project which includes studies carried on by a group of research workers representing a variety of disciplines. The field work was begun in 1948-49 and was resumed in 1952-54.

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1. Alexander H. Leighton and Lauriston Sharp, "Notes for Field Research Workers" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Cornell University, New York, 1952), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)